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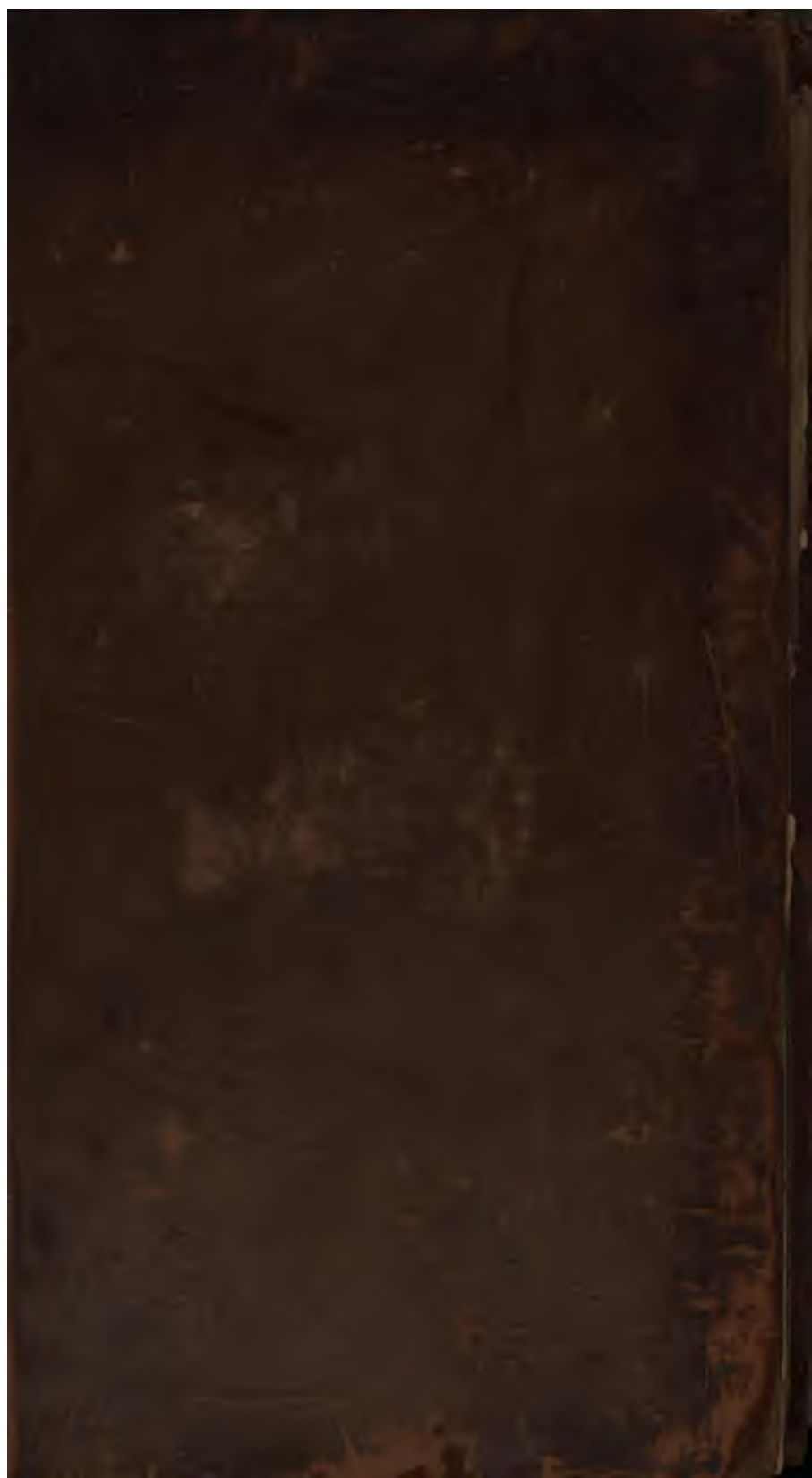
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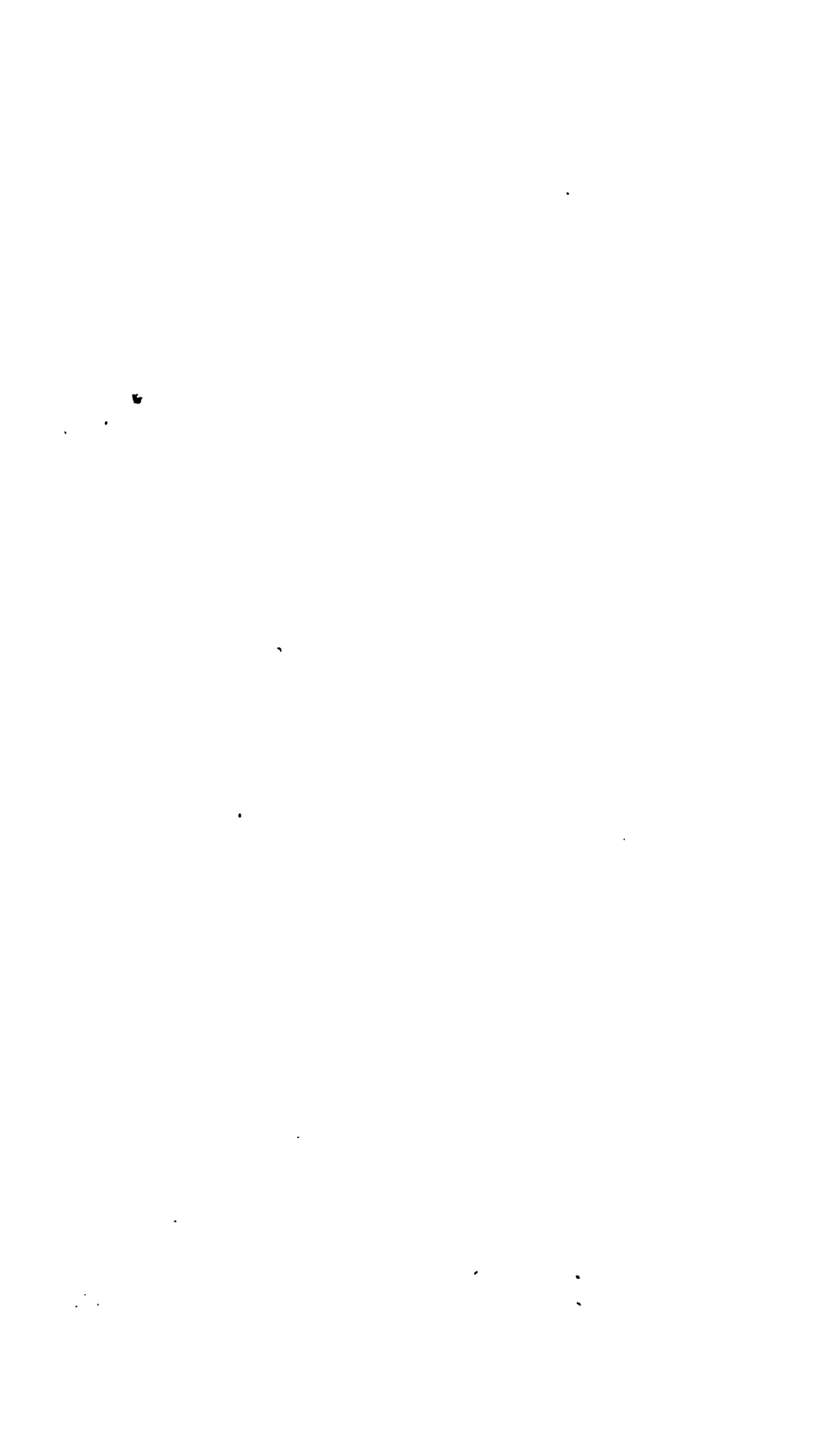
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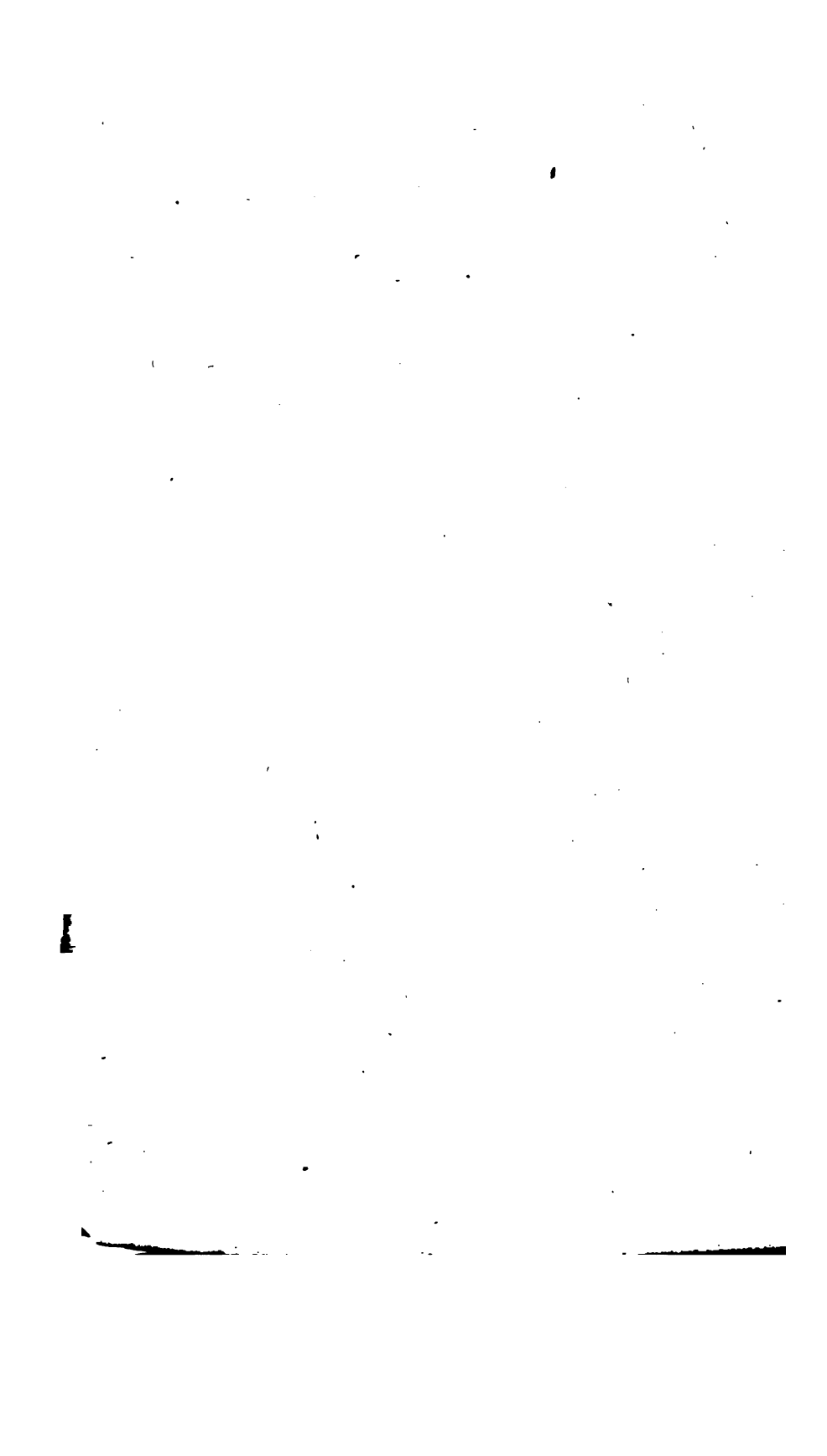
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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF
345-80
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE
FIRST INVASION OF IT BY THE ROMANS
UNDER JULIUS CÆSAR.

WRITTEN ON A NEW PLAN.

By ROBERT HENRY, D. D.
ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF EDINBURGH, MEMBER OF THE
SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIANS OF SCOTLAND, AND OF
THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH.

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THE
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BOOK VI.

CHAP. II. SECT. I.

*Ecclesiastical History of England from the Accession
of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Accession of
Henry VIII. A. D. 1509.*

THE ecclesiastical transactions in the reign of Henry VII. that merit a place in history, were not many, and shall be related in as few words as possible. Cent. XV.

Cardinal Bouchier, who had been archbishop of Canterbury thirty-two years, died in January A. D. 1486, and was succeeded by John Morton, bishop of Ely, who had contributed greatly to the elevation of Henry to the throne. This primate convened a synod of the prelates and clergy of his province

Vol. XII. B

Convoca-
tion.

Cent. XV.

province February 13th, A. D. 1487, at St. Paul's, for the reformation of the manners of the clergy. Complaints were made to the synod, that the preachers of the order of St. John of Jerusalem, in their sermons at Paul's cross, inveighed against the vices of the clergy in the hearing of the laity, who all, said they, hate the clergy, and delight to hear their vices exposed. The prior of St. John was called, and appeared before the synod, and promised to correct this great abuse. The invectives of these preachers, however, do not seem to have been without foundation; for many of the London clergy were accused in this convocation, of spending their whole time in taverns and ale-houses, of concealing their tonsure, and allowing their hair to grow long, and of imitating the laity in their dress. They were severely reprimanded for these enormities. This convocation granted a tenth of their benefices for one year to the king, and instituted a new holy-day to commemorate the transfiguration of Christ, to be observed every year on the 7th of August¹.

Pastoral letter.

Immediately after the convocation was dismissed, the primate published a pastoral letter for the reformation of the lives and habits of the clergy. In this letter the good primate doth not trouble his clergy with recommending a single virtue, or reproving a single vice; but he charges them, with great solemnity, not to wear short liripoops of silk, nor gowns open before, nor swords, nor daggers, nor embroidered girdles; to be very careful of

¹ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 618.

their

Ch. 2. § 1. ECCLESIASTICAL.

their tonsure, and to keep their hair always so short that all the world may see their ears; and he threatens them with very severe censures, if they do not observe these injunctions. He recommends residence on their benefices to all rectors and vicars who have only one living, and no dispensation, nor canonical impediment, nor lawful excuse for non-residence, that they may preserve their flocks from that rapacious wolf the devil ^a.

Cent. XV.

The dissolute manners of the clergy, especially of the regulars, made a mighty noise at this time, and gave great offence to the laity, who were provoked to see the immense possessions, bestowed upon the church by the mistaken piety of their ancestors, so shamefully abused. The court of Rome became apprehensive that this discontent of the laity might produce disagreeable effects. Pope Innocent VIII. sent a bull to archbishop Morton in March 1490, in which he acquaints him, that he had heard with great grief from persons worthy of credit, that the monks of all the different orders in England had grievously degenerated; "and that " giving themselves up to a reprobate sense, they " led lewd and dissolute lives, by which they " brought ruin upon their own souls, set an ill " example to others, and gave great offence and " scandal to many." His holiness then directed the primate to admonish the abbots and priors of all the convents in his province, to reform themselves, and those under them; and if any of them did not obey that admonition, he gave him autho-

Papal bull.

^a Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 620.

Cent. XV.

rity to visit and reform them by ecclesiastical censures, to cut off incurable members by deprivation, and to call the secular arm to his assistance when it was necessary³.

Monitory
letter.

In obedience to this bull the primate sent monitory letters to the superiors of all the convents and religious houses in his province, admonishing and commanding them, by the authority he had received from the pope, to reform themselves, and their subjects, from certain vices, of which they were said to be guilty, and of which he accused them. The monitory letter that was sent on this occasion to the abbot of St. Alban's, hath been published. If that abbot and his monks were stained with all the odious vices, of which the primate says in his letter they were notoriously guilty, they were a most execrable crew, and stood much in need of reformation. Some of these vices are so detestable, that they cannot be so much as named in history. "You are infamous, (says he to the abbot,) for simony, usury, and squandering away the possessions of your monastery, besides other enormous crimes mentioned below." One of these crimes was, that he had turned all the modest women out of the two nunneries of Pray and Sapwell, (over which he pretended to have a jurisdiction,) and filled them with prostitutes; that they were esteemed no better than brothels, and that he and his monks publicly frequented them as such. His grace seems to have been well informed; for he names some of these infamous women and their

³ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 630.

gallants.

gallants. The monks were at least as profligate as their abbot: for besides keeping concubines both within and without the monastery, he accuses them of stealing the church plate and jewels, and even of picking the jewels out of the shrine of their patron St. Alban. He allows them sixty days to reform from all their vices, especially from cutting down the woods, and stealing the plate and jewels of the monastery; but if they did not reform in that time, and become very chaste, honest, and good monks, he threatens them with a visitation ⁴. What effect this monitory letter had on the abbot and his monks we are not informed: it is probable that it was not great. For we learn from the same letter, that they had been several times admonished before to no purpose. When the monastics lived in idleness, wallowed in wealth and luxury, and were doomed to celibacy, the temptations to certain vices were too strong to be overcome by monitory letters, which they probably considered as things of course.

The avarice of Henry VII. was soon discovered, and became universally known; and the clergy secured his favour by granting him money from time to time. Both the convocations of Canterbury and York met, A. D. 1491, and each of them granted him a tenth of their livings for one year ⁵.

Henry VII. neglected no opportunity of depressing the house of York, and exalting that of Lancaster, from which he pretended to derive his title to the throne. Henry VI. the last king of the

⁴ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 632.

⁵ Ibid. p. 634, 635.

Cent. XV.

house of Lancaster, had been buried first in the abbey of Chertsey, to which there was a prodigious concourse of people to behold the miracles that were said to be wrought at his tomb. To put a stop to this, Richard III. removed the body from Chertsey, and interred it in the collegiate church in the castle of Windsor, to which the people had not such easy access. Henry presented a petition to the pope, A. D. 1494, for his permission to translate the sacred remains of that pious king from Windsor to Westminster, a place of much greater celebrity, where many of the kings and queens of England lay intombed, though the dean and chapter of Windsor opposed the translation⁶. A mighty king applies to a foreign priest to overcome the resistance of his own chaplains; so small was the authority of kings, and so great the authority of popes, over the ecclesiastics of those times!

Still further to aggrandise the house of Lancaster, Henry, in the same year, 1494, petitioned the pope to canonise Henry VI. and transmitted a long list of the wonderful miracles wrought by that pious prince, both in his life-time and after his death; particularly that he had given sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, strength to the lame, and had cured all other diseases. The pope granted a commission to the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Durham to examine into the sanctity of this royal candidate for canonisation, and into the reality of his miracles⁷. This affair, however, was never accomplished, and Henry was never canon-

⁶ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 635.⁷ Ibid. p. 640.

ised,

ised, being as unfortunate after his death as he had been during his life; nor are we informed what put a stop to this pious project. The most probable conjecture is, that Henry VII. found that the canonisation of a king would cost more money than he had imagined or was disposed to expend.

Cent. XV.

Archbishop Morton died A. D. 1500, and was succeeded by Henry Dean, bishop of Salisbury. This being the year of jubilee, prodigious multitudes crowded to Rome from all christian countries, to partake of the pardons and indulgences that were then dispensed in great profusion. But as many good catholics, who lived in distant countries, wished to share in those benefits, but were not able to bear the fatigue or the expence of so long a journey, the pope Alexander V. to accommodate them, and to dispose of the spiritual treasures of the church, which are inexhaustible, sent agents into every country, furnished with sufficient quantities of these sacred commodities, which they sold to all who chose to buy them. One Jasper Pons, a Spaniard, was sent into England on this occasion, who managed this traffic with so much address, that he collected and carried off a great mass of money, without giving much scandal³.

Jubilee.

One of the arts employed by the nuncio to get money and avoid scandal was this: He gave out, that all the money he received for pardons, indulgences, &c. was to be expended in an expedition against the Turks. To procure credit to this assertion, he brought a bull from the pope to the

Bull.

³ Antiq. Britan. p. 332.

Cent. XV.

king, in which his holiness acquainted him, that he and his brethren the cardinals, in a solemn conclave, had resolved upon an expedition against the Turks, those cruel enemies of the christian faith; that they had settled the plan of operations, and wanted nothing but money, fleets, and armies, for which they depended on the religious zeal of christian princes and states. He acquainted him with the plan of operations; that the kings of Hungary, Poland, and Bohemia were to invade Romania; the French and Spaniards to attack the Turks in Greece; and the English, Venetians, and other maritime powers, to make an attempt on Constantinople with a strong fleet and army. He concluded with conjuring the king, in the most earnest manner, to engage with all his power in this most holy and pious undertaking. To this bull Henry returned a civil but evasive answer; the nuncio conveyed his money to Rome, and the expedition against the Turks was no more mentioned⁹.

Cent. XVI.

Henry Dean, archbishop of Canterbury, died A. D. 1502, and was succeeded by William Warham, bishop of London. The disciples of Wickliff, then commonly called Lollards, had been so long and so cruelly persecuted, that their numbers were much diminished; and many who had imbibed those dangerous opinions, carefully concealed them. It appears also that the Lollards at this time were not in general so ambitious of the crown of martyrdom as they had been formerly; for many of

⁹ Bacon, ad an. 1500.

them,

them, when they were accused of heresy, and threatened with the cruel death inflicted on heretics, recanted, and burnt their faggot, to preserve themselves from burning. The fires, however, in which heretics were consumed, were not extinguished. Many, both men and women, were reduced to ashes for the crime of heresy in the last years of Henry VII. ; of whose sufferings those readers who take pleasure in perusing such shocking relations will find a full account in the work quoted below ¹⁰.

Cent. XVI.

SECTION II.

Ecclesiastical History of England, from the Accession of Henry VIII. A. D. 1509, to the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

THAT the state of religion and of the church of England underwent great changes in the reign of Henry VIII. is universally known. But it is necessary to remark, that these changes were brought about by the state, and not by the church, and that therefore the history of them belongs to civil rather than to ecclesiastical history; for this reason, the occasions, causes, and other circumstances of the most important of these changes, have been related in their proper places, in the first chapter of this book; and it only now remains to give a brief account of the transactions of this

The church reformed by the state.

¹⁰ Fox, Acts and Monuments, vol. i. p. 710—715.

period

Cent. XVI.

The Eng-
lish attach-
ed to
Rome.

period that were more strictly ecclesiastical, which may be comprised within moderate limits.

Few nations in Europe seemed to be more firmly attached to the court and church of Rome, than the English at the accession of Henry VIII. The clergy, both secular and regular, were universally devoted to the papacy, and more the subjects of the pope than of their native sovereign. They defended all the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the church with much zeal, and persecuted all who presumed to call any of these in question with unrelenting cruelty. The laity, indeed, sometimes railed at the vices, and repined at the riches of their spiritual guides; but the far greatest number of them entertained no doubts of the infallibility of the pope, or of the truth of any of the tenets of the church. The king had been inspired by his instructors with the highest veneration for his holy father at Rome, and with the most violent hatred to heresy and heretics. This attachment of the king and the clergy to the see of Rome continued unabated during the first nineteen years of this reign. The transactions therefore of that period were of the same kind with those of former periods, and do not merit a minute investigation.

Conse-
crated rose.

The popes of the times we are delineating seldom neglected to present some consecrated trinket that was much valued, and that cost them little, to those princes at their accession, from whom they expected substantial favours. Julius II. sent a consecrated rose of gold dipped in chrism, and perfumed with musk, to archbishop Warham April 5th,

5th, A. D. 1510, to be presented to the king at high mass, with his apostolical benediction. Henry received the precious rose, and more precious benediction, with profound reference and excessive joy²¹.

Cent. XVI.

The convocation of the province of Canterbury met at St. Paul's, February 6th, A. D. 1511, and made the king a more valuable present, by granting him a subsidy of 25,000*l*.²²

Subsidy.

Great profits accrued in those times to the archbishops and bishops, and the officers of their courts, from the registration and probation of testaments, the administration of the goods of intestates, and the trial of causes in their several courts; and violent disputes arose about the division of these profits. In former times the testaments of all persons were proved and registered in the court of the diocese wherein he had resided and died, and the several bishops and their officials had the administration of the goods of those who died intestate within their dioceses. Causes were also tried in the court of the diocese in which the parties resided, though an appeal lay to the archbishop's court. This arrangement had been established by a constitution of the papal legate Ottabon, and confirmed by uniform practice. But the late archbishop Morton, being a cardinal, chancellor of the kingdom, and prime minister, had great power, which he employed in making encroachments on the privileges and emoluments of his suffragans and their courts. He pretended that the testaments of all

Dispute between the primate and his suffragans.

²¹ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 652.²² Ibid.

persons,

Cent. XVI.

persons, who had effects in different dioceses, or who died possessed of *bona notabilia*, should be proved and registered in the archbishop's court, and that the goods of intestates in these circumstances should be administered by his officials. Besides this, he brought almost all litigations into his own court (to which he gave the new name of the prerogative court) by prohibitions, advocations, and admitting appeals before sentence. These innovations were opposed by his suffragans, and by none so keenly as by William Warham, who acted as advocate to Richard Hill, bishop of London, who appealed to the pope against them. But when Warham was advanced to the primacy, he changed his mind, and carried these encroachments farther than his predecessor cardinal Morton had done, and rejected all the proposals of his suffragans for an accommodation ²³. This contest continued long, and was conducted with great violence and rancour; which is one proof, among many others, that the celibacy of the clergy did not diminish their love of money, or make them more indifferent about amassing wealth.

Divisions
among the
regulars.

Divisions and disputes prevailed among the regular, as well as among the secular clergy of England in this period, particularly between the Franciscans, or gray friars, and the Dominicans, or black friars, about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, maintained by the former, and denied by the latter. This question was agitated several years with great warmth, and appeared to

²³ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 653-659.

be of such importance, that it engaged the attention of the whole christian world. At length, however, an end was put to this controversy by a decree of the pope in favour of the Franciscans; a new festival was instituted to commemorate the immaculate conception of the holy Virgin, and all who denied it were declared to be heretics ¹⁴.

Cent. XVI.

If the clergy at this time were at variance among themselves, they were at still greater variance with the laity about the immunities of the church; that is, of the clergy, and their exemption from the jurisdiction of the civil courts and civil magistrates. This had been a bone of contention between the clergy and laity for several centuries, and had sometimes involved both in very great distress. This controversy was revived and inflamed by an act of parliament, A. D. 1512, by which all who were accused of murder or robbery were to be tried in the civil courts, except bishops, priests, and deacons; and if found guilty, were to be denied the benefit of clergy ¹⁵. This act was exclaimed against by the great body of the clergy as a most impious invasion of the immunities of the church, because subdeacons, acolyths, exorcists, &c. were thereby subjected to be tried for murder or robbery by laymen, and to be hanged if they were found guilty. The pulpits every where rung with declamations against this act; and the abbot of Winchelcomb, in a sermon at Paul's cross, declared, that all persons, whether spiritual or temporal, who had assented to that infamous act, had incurred the cen-

Disputation.

¹⁴ Fox, vol. ii. p. 732.¹⁵ Statutes, 4 Henry VIII. cap. 2.

Cent. XVI.

fures of the church. This zealous abbot also published a book, to prove that the persons of clerks, in the lower as well as the higher orders, were sacred, and that they could not be tried or punished by the laity for any crimes ¹⁶. The temporal lords, and the house of commons, exasperated at this attempt of the clergy to emancipate themselves from the restraints of law, and from punishment for the greatest crimes, petitioned the king to repress their insolence, and compel them to retract their opinion. The matter was debated before the king in council, the judges, and a numerous audience, both of the clergy and laity. The abbot of Winchelcomb was advocate for the immunities which the church and clergy claimed; and doctor Standish, one of the king's spiritual council, pleaded against them. After a long debate, the audience in general being convinced that doctor Standish had the better of the argument, requested the bishops to command the abbot to recant his opinion. But this they positively refused; declaring, that it was their own opinion, and the doctrine of holy church ¹⁷.

Richard
Hunne's
affair.

When things were in this state, an event happened that inflamed the animosity between the clergy and the laity, especially in London. One Richard Hunne, a respectable citizen, was sued by the priest of his parish, in the legate's court, for a mortuary, which he pretended to be due to him for the burial of a child of his only five weeks old. Hunne, by the advice of his council, sued the priest in the king's bench, in a premunire, for bringing

¹⁶ Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 12, 13.

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 13.

him

him before a foreign court. The clergy, to extricate the priest, accused Hunne of heresy, and imprisoned him in the Lollard's Tower at St. Paul's, where he was found hanged December 4th, A. D. 1514. The clergy gave out that he had hanged himself. But this was not believed, and the coroner's inquest, after a careful examination of the body, the posture in which it was found, and other circumstances, brought in their verdict, wilful murder by those who had the charge of the prison. Many witnesses were examined, whose evidence tended to criminate the bishops, Sumner, and the bell-ringer; and Sumner afterwards confessed that the chancellor doctor Horsey, himself, and the bell-ringer, had first murdered Hunne, and then hung up his body against the wall²⁰.

This affair made a prodigious noise in London, and excited violent outcries against the clergy, which were rendered more vehement by the method that was taken to silence them. Fitz-James, bishop of London, and other prelates with whom he consulted, imagined, that if Hunne was convicted of heresy, the people would no longer espouse his cause, or lament his fate. That bishop, therefore, attended by the bishops of Durham and Lincoln, twenty-five abbots, priors, and doctors, six notaries, and great multitudes of the secular and regular clergy held a court at St. Paul's, December 16th, for the trial of one who had been ten days in his grave. At that court Richard Hunne was accused of various heresies contained in the preface

Burnt for
heresy
after his
death.

²⁰ Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 799—794.

Cent. XVI.

to Wickliff's bible, which had been found in his house, and was esteemed a sufficient proof that he had held all these heresies. Proclamation was made, that if any one chose to answer for the accused he should appear immediately. No counsel chose to plead the cause of such a client before such a court. Hunne was pronounced a heretic, his body was taken up December 20th, and burnt in Smithfield²⁹. The people were shocked at this horrid spectacle, and greatly disgusted with their spiritual guides.

His children
restored.

The discontent excited by these acts of cruelty was not confined to the people of London. The parliament that met February 5th, A. D. 1515, restored the children of Richard Hunne to all their father's effects; and the house of commons sent up a bill to the house of peers, April 3d, for bringing his murderers, particularly doctor Horsey, to justice. But the clergy were too numerous in that house for such a bill to pass. The bishop of London made a violent declamation against it; in which he affirmed, that Hunne had hanged himself; that the coroner and his jury were perjured traitors; and that if the bill passed, the heretics would become so bold, that he would not be safe in his own house. The bill was thrown out after the first reading³⁰.

Dr. Standish
questioned.

The clergy were greatly offended with doctor Standish, for his pleading against their immunities; and the convocation, which sat at the same time

²⁹ Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. i. p. 14. Fox, vol. ii. p. 739—744.

³⁰ Ibid.

with

with the parliament, brought him before them, and threatened him with the severest censures. Expecting neither mercy nor justice from his enraged brethren, he implored the king to protect him from the danger he had incurred by acting in the capacity of his spiritual counsel. The clergy assured the king, that they did not intend to question doctor Standish for any thing he had said in the late conference, but for certain lectures at Paul's cross; in which he had advanced many things contrary to the law of God and the liberties of holy church, which they were bound to maintain. On the other hand, the temporal lords, the judges, and the house of commons, petitioned the king to preserve the undoubted rights of his crown, and his temporal jurisdiction over all his subjects, and to protect doctor Standish from the malice of his enemies ²¹.

These petitions threw the king into great perplexity. He had a great veneration for the church and clergy, but he was also fond of power, and tenacious of his rights. On this occasion he consulted doctor Veysey, dean of his chapel, (of whose learning and probity he entertained a good opinion,) and charged him, upon his allegiance, to give him his real sentiments on this important question. Having taken some time to consider, the doctor declared to the king, upon his faith and conscience, that the trial of clerks by the secular judges, for crimes committed against the laws of the land, was neither contrary to the law of God, nor inconsistent

Conferences and disputes.

²¹ Burnet, p. 15.

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with the true liberties of the church. This opinion, and the arguments with which it was supported, gave Henry great satisfaction. Two very solemn conferences were held before him, and many of the prelates, lords, judges, and principal men, both of the clergy and laity, in which this question was debated at great length, and with no little warmth, by doctor Standish and doctor Veysey on one side, and the champions for the immunities of the church on the other. At the last of these conferences, when the greatest part of the audience seemed ready to adopt the opinion of the two doctors, cardinal Wolsey fell upon his knees before the king, and most earnestly intreated him to refer the matter in dispute to the pope, to avoid his incurring the censures of the church. On which the king said, that he thought doctor Standish and others of his council had answered all their arguments fully. The lord chief justice Fineux observed, that bishops could not try clerks for capital offences; and if they were not amenable to the civil courts, they might commit the greatest crimes with impunity. The king then, addressing himself to the clergy, said, "Know you well, that we will maintain the right of our crown and our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this as in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time." The archbishop of Canterbury, alarmed at this declaration, fell on his knees and begged that the final determination of this question might be delayed till they had time to consult the court of Rome. But

to this no answer was given; the king retired, and the conference ended ²². Cent. XVI.

A warrant being issued for apprehending doctor Horsey, the bishop of London's chancellor, in order to his being tried in the king's bench for the murder of Richard Hunne, he absconded, and was concealed in the archbishop's palace at Lambeth. At last, when this affair threatened very serious consequences, it was terminated by a compromise, most probably suggested by the clergy. It was agreed, that the convocation should drop all proceedings against doctor Standish; that doctor Horsey should appear in the court of king's bench, and plead not guilty; and that the attorney-general should acknowledge the truth of this plea, to prevent a trial. All this was accordingly done; and in those days it was thought no small triumph, that a great king had brought a clerk to the bar, though he did not, or durst not, bring him to trial ²³. Compromise.

Though the clergy in this period were divided among themselves, and at variance with the laity, there was one thing in which they agreed too well, and were too well seconded by the secular arm; the persecution of the unhappy Lollards. The infernal spirit of persecution, which had languished in some degree in the preceding reign, raged with great violence in the first nineteen years of the present reign: for though Henry VIII. was tenacious of the rights of his crown, he had no regard to the rights of conscience, and no mercy on those who presumed to judge for themselves in matters of Persecution.

²² Burnet, from Keilwey's Reports.

²³ Ibid.

religion, or to dissent in the least from the established system of belief and worship. To give a minute detail of all the horrid cruelties that were inflicted on those who were condemned as heretics for reading the scriptures, for denying transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of images, the invocation of saints, the infallibility of the pope, or any other tenet of the church, would not only swell this section to a most inconvenient size, but would greatly distress every reader of feeling and humanity. It is sufficient to remark, that all who were convicted of what was then called heresy, both women and men, old and young, and adhered to their opinions, were condemned as obstinate heretics, delivered to the secular arm, and burnt to ashes, without mercy, and without exception. The number of those unhappy victims was considerable, particularly in the diocese of Lincoln, under bishop Langland, the king's confessor, and a most cruel persecutor²⁴. Those who, through fear of the painful death with which they were threatened, abjured or renounced their opinions, (which were very many,) had various penances prescribed to them, and various punishments inflicted upon them, of which some were very severe and ignominious²⁵. Some of the English prelates at least seem to have resolved to extinguish heresy, by the total extirpation of heretics. But in this they did not succeed. On the contrary, the more fiercely persecution raged, the more heresy and heretics increased; the

²⁴ Fox, p. 744—750.²⁵ Ibid. p. 450, &c.

greater

greater was the compassion of the people for the sufferers, and their indignation against the persecutors.

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Henry VIII. was not only a most dutiful son, but a most zealous champion of the church of Rome in the first half of his reign, and fought the battles of the pope, both by his sword and by his pen. With this last instrument he took the field against Martin Luther, by his book, *de Septem Sacramentis*, of the Seven Sacraments. A splendid copy of this royal performance was presented to the pope in full consistory in October, A. D. 1521, by doctor John Clark, dean of Windsor, the king's ambassador at Rome, and received with great respect and ceremony. The pope assured the ambassador, that he would recommend the book to all Christian princes and publish it with as honourable a testimony from the holy see as ever was given to the works of St. Austin and St. Jerome; and that he would immediately adorn the king with some honourable title, as a reward for his religious zeal and learned labours. Accordingly his holiness, by a bull, in the same month bestowed on Henry the title of Defender of the Faith; and in the same bull he extolled his book, as a most wonderful performance, sprinkled with the dew of divine grace; and returned immense thanks to Almighty God, who had been graciously pleased to inspire his majesty's excellent mind, always inclined to that which was good, with so much grace from Heaven²⁶. Henry was now the greatest favourite of

Henry
writes
against
Luther.

²⁶ Collier, Records, vol. ii. No. iv.

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Luther re-
plies.

the court of Rome; and if he had died at this time, would probably have been canonized.

Few authors have had the pleasure of receiving such extravagant praises for their works, as Henry received for this performance. But neither the lustre of his crown, nor the acclamations of his admirers, intimidated his antagonist. Luther, irritated at some contemptuous expressions that the king had used, published an answer to his book; in which he treated him with unbecoming asperity, or rather scurrility, of which he afterwards repented. Of this it will be sufficient to give one example. "If he had erred like other men, he might have been forgiven; but when he knowingly and wittingly invents lies against the majesty of my King in heaven, I have a right to bespatter his English majesty with mire, and to trample the crown of this blasphemer against Christ under my feet²⁷." When Luther's passion subsided, he became sensible of the error he had committed, and wrote a long letter of apology, dated September 1st, A. D. 1525; in which he most earnestly implored forgiveness for the intemperate language of his book, to which, he says, he had been excited by his majesty's enemies, and not by his own inclination²⁸. But the king was not to be appeased. To expose Luther he published his letter, and an answer to it, "To shew the world that he was not so weak as to be ensnared by the flattery of a little foolish friar, nor so fickle as to retract

²⁷ Collier, Records, vol. ii, No. iii.²⁸ Ibid. No. 5.

" what

“ what he had written, and what he knew to be
 “ right ²⁹.”

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Luther's
 books pro-
 hibited.

This controversy between the king and Luther, and the title of defender of the faith, which he had received from the pope, of which he was exceedingly vain, inflamed his zeal for the church of Rome, and his hatred of the reformers in Germany, and of those who inclined to their opinions in England. Luther had also irritated his great favourite, cardinal Wolsey, by calling him, in his apologetical letter to the king, “ that plague of your kingdom, that monster, hated by God and man, the cardinal of York.” Luther's person being out of the reach both of the king and cardinal, who were equally incensed against him, they spent their resentment upon his works, and on those who read them. The cardinal, by virtue of his legantine commission, sent a mandate to all the bishops, abbots, and priors, in England, enjoining them to cause an order to be read in all the churches under their jurisdiction in the time of divine service, commanding all persons, both of the clergy and laity, who had any books written by that pestilent heretic, Martin Luther, to deliver them to their ordinary within fifteen days, under the pain of being reputed and punished as heretics. With this mandate he sent a paper to be affixed to the door of every church, containing forty-two propositions, extracted from the works of Luther, which had been condemned by the pope as damnable

²⁹ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 59.

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heresies³⁰. But all these precautions did not prevent the importation of Luther's works, or their being translated into English, but rather increased the curiosity of the people to be acquainted with them.

Convocations.

A misunderstanding had prevailed for some time between cardinal Wolsey and Warham archbishop of Canterbury. The cardinal, by his legantine power, his place of chancellor, his immense revenues, and his high favour with the king, quite eclipsed the archbishop, by drawing almost all causes into his courts, and disposing of almost all preferments, both in church and state. But great as his power was, he sometimes stretched it too far. Archbishop Warham had summoned a convocation of the prelates and clergy of his province to meet at St. Paul's April 20th, A. D. 1523, and the cardinal had summoned a convocation of his province of York to meet at Westminster at the same time. But as soon as the convocation of Canterbury met, and were about to proceed to business, the cardinal summoned them to attend him April 22d, in a legantine council at Westminster. This extraordinary step gave great offence to the prelates and clergy of the province of Canterbury. They obeyed the summons; but when they came to treat of business, the proctors for the clergy observed, that their commissions gave them no authority to treat or vote but in convocation. This objection proved unanswerable, and the cardinal, to his great mortification, was obliged to dismiss

³⁰ Strype, p. 37—40. Records, No. ix.

his

his legantine council. The convocation of Canterbury returned to St. Paul's, and granted the king one half of all their benefices for one year, to be paid in five years. The reasons they assigned for granting this extraordinary subsidy were these: "That their most pious king had prevented a schism in the papacy; that by a great army, and a most expensive war, he had preserved Italy and Rome from being conquered by the French; and that he had lately defeated and confounded all the Lutheran heretics, raging like madmen against the church and sacraments, by his most learned book, which it is impossible to praise sufficiently³¹." The convocation of the province of York sat at the same time at Westminster, and granted the king the same subsidy³².

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Though cardinal Wolsey had been constrained to dismiss his legantine or national council, on account of the irregular manner in which it had been called, he was determined to hold such a council, and to shine at the head of all the clergy of England. He therefore summoned all the prelates, both of the regulars and seculars, and the representatives of the inferior clergy, to appear before him June 2d at Westminster. The pretence for calling this council was to reform the manners of the clergy, which the cardinal said had been recommended to him by the pope; and in doing it he declared he was determined to employ all the power and wisdom that God had given him³³. What was done in this council for the reformation

National council.

³¹ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 699.³² Ibid. p. 698.³³ Ibid.

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of the clergy we are not informed; but there is sufficient evidence that no remarkable reformation took place at this time, and that the cardinal, who appeared so zealous for reforming others, had not the wisdom to reform himself. The truth is, that a vicious corrupt clergy, though they may talk and flourish about reformation and purity of manners in their synods and councils, are not likely to be either very zealous or very successful in promoting the real reformation of themselves or others.

Perfec-
tions.

There was one vice, indeed, which the clergy most zealously endeavoured to extirpate. This was what they called the damnable vice of heresy; which consisted in reading the New Testament in English, the works of Wickliff and Luther, and of others of that learning, in denying the infallibility of the pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, praying to saints, worshipping images, &c. &c. Notwithstanding the cruel punishments that had been inflicted on those who entertained these opinions, their number was still considerable; particularly in London, and in Colchester, and other parts of Essex. They called themselves *the Brethren in Christ*, and met together with great secrecy in one another's houses, to read the New Testament and other books, and to converse on religious subjects. Many of them were apprehended and brought before Cuthbert Tunstall bishop of London, and doctor Wharton his chancellor. But bishop Tunstall being a prelate of uncommon learning and eloquence, and of great humanity, he generally prevailed upon them to renounce, or rather to dissemble, their opinions, by which they escaped a painful

ful death, but incurred the painful reproaches of their own minds ³⁴. This persecution was conducted with much greater severity in the dioceses of Lincoln and Coventry ³⁵. Cent. XVI.

Cardinal Wolsey was now, A. D. 1527, in the zenith of his power and greatness. The pope being detained in prison by the emperor, constituted Wolsey his vicar-general; investing him with all the power of the papacy. Having thus obtained the power, though not the name, of pope, he ruled the church with the most despotic sway, and encroached on the most undisputed rights of the other bishops, as well as of the laity. Among other encroachments, he established a court in his own house, called York-house, for all testamentary matters, which almost annihilated both the business and emoluments of the prerogative court of the archbishop of Canterbury. Against this innovation the archbishop remonstrated again and again, in very strong but decent and respectful terms. But to these remonstrances the haughty vicar-general paid no regard, till he received a message from the king, of whom alone he stood in some awe ³⁶. Wolsey's greatness.

Such were the principal transactions, and such the state of the church of England, in the first nineteen years of the reign of Henry VIII. In that period the king was the most zealous champion of the court and church of Rome, and fought the battles of four successive popes by his sword, his purse, and his pen. In consequence of this, he was the greatest favourite of the court of Rome, loaded with the most extravagant praises, adorned with the title of Great changes.

³⁴ Strype, b. i. ch. 7, 8. ³⁵ Fox, p. 896, &c. ³⁶ Strype, b. i. ch. 6. defender

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defender of the faith, and honoured with the precious presents of consecrated swords, capes, and roses. But the last nineteen years of this reign present us with a very different state of things. In that period the king broke off all subjection to, and connexion with, the pope, and court of Rome; became their most violent enemy, and laboured to induce other princes to shake off their yoke. He assumed the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England; was acknowledged such by his parliament, by the clergy, by almost all his subjects, and persecuted those to death who refused to acknowledge his supremacy and renounce the pope. By this conduct he cancelled all his former merits with the pope, the cardinals, and all the zealous sons of the church of Rome, who loaded him with curses instead of praises, and represented him as worse than Judas, Caiphas, or Pilate, and the greatest enemy to God and holy church that had ever appeared. At last his holiness thundered out against him the dreadful sentence of excommunication; gave him to the devil, absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded them to depose him. He enjoined all Christian princes to declare war against him, and to seize all his dominions and every thing that belonged to him, to which he gave them a right³⁷. These great and surprising changes were not brought about at once, but by various steps, which we shall now endeavour to trace.

Instability
of the
church.

Though the authority of the pope, and the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome, seemed to

³⁷ Strype, b. i. ch. 43. Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 792.

be firmly established in England in the first part of this reign, the foundations on which they rested were in some degree undermined, and the fabric was not so firm as it appeared. The revival of learning, and the invention of the art of printing, made books more attainable, and some degree of knowledge more general, than they had been in former times. This also gave an opportunity to persons of different opinions to communicate their sentiments to the public. A great number of small books against the authority of the pope, transubstantiation, purgatory, images, pardons, pilgrimages, &c. were published in England, and many of Luther's works were imported and translated. All these were circulated with great secrecy, and perused with great avidity by the people; which rendered great multitudes of them secretly disaffected to the church. The clergy were very sensible of their danger from this quarter, and exerted all their power to prevent the circulation of these books, especially of the New Testament in English, which they represented as perfect poison to the souls of Christians. But all their efforts were ineffectual. The nobility and principal gentlemen hated the clergy, on account of their exorbitant power and riches, their pomp and pride, their rapacity, luxury, and other vices, and the laity in general wished to see them humbled. In a word, the zealous attachment and great power of the king seem to have been the chief support of the papal power and popish church in England at this time; and when these supports were withdrawn, the ponderous fabric

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Henry's
doubts
about his
marriage.

fabric could no longer stand. How these supports came to be withdrawn is now to be narrated.

Henry VIII. lived in great conjugal harmony with his queen Catherine of Spain, his brother's widow, about eighteen years. When he first began to entertain doubts of the legality of his marriage cannot be ascertained: but it was not till A. D. 1527 that he began to disclose these doubts to his confessor Longlands, bishop of Lincoln, to his favourite cardinal Wolsey, and to some others. Having studied this question with great attention, and consulted many of the most learned men in his dominions, he came to be fully convinced that his marriage was incestuous, and contrary to the laws of God and nature; and that the pope could not dispense with these laws. This conviction, and perhaps some other considerations, made him ardently desirous of obtaining a divorce, that he might be at liberty to contract a more unexceptionable marriage; and he resolved to apply to the pope for that purpose.

History of
the divorce
already re-
lated.

From the time that Henry applied to the court of Rome (A. D. 1526) for a divorce, that affair influenced all his councils and negotiations, and directed all his civil and political transactions for several years. It was impossible therefore to give a clear, distinct, intelligible account of these transactions, without relating his negotiations at the court of Rome for obtaining that divorce, the delays, artifices, and double-dealing of that court, which at length provoked him to withdraw his obedience to the pope, and assume the supremacy in

in his own dominions, which made way for the many important changes that followed in the church and state of England. For these reasons, the history of the king's divorce from queen Catherine, and of its immediate consequences, hath been already given in the second section of the first chapter of this book, to which the reader is referred. We shall now proceed to relate such transactions as were purely ecclesiastical, and that seem to merit a place in history.

While Henry was negotiating his divorce at the court of Rome, he encouraged his prelates and clergy to persecute all heretics without mercy; and issued a proclamation, commanding his chancellor, the judges of both benches, the justices of the peace, and all other civil officers and magistrates, to assist the bishops in extirpating all heresies and heretics³⁸. Thus instigated and supported, some of the English prelates were exceedingly zealous and active in the cruel business of persecution. Thomas Bilney and Thomas Arthur of Cambridge were men of learning; and having imbibed the principles of Luther and the other reformers of Germany, they propagated these principles in the university and other places, with ability and success, by their writings, their preaching, and their conversation. They were both apprehended and imprisoned A. D. 1527; and after suffering a long imprisonment and many hardships, they were prevailed upon by the importunity of their friends, and the dread of a painful death, to abjure their opi-

Persecu-
tions.

³⁸ Fox, p. 930.

nions.

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nions. But Bilney was soon after seized with the most excruciating remorse for his hypocrisy, and could enjoy no peace of mind till he returned to the profession of his real principles. He was again imprisoned, and soon after burnt at Norwich as a relapsed heretic, and endured the flames with great composure and fortitude ³⁹. About the same time (1530) Thomas Hilton, a priest, after a long and severe imprisonment, was burnt at Maidstone ⁴⁰. Doctor John Stokesley, bishop of London, was a more cruel persecutor than any of the other English prelates of this time. By him Richard Bayfield, a priest and monk of St. Edmondsbury, was tried and convicted of heresy, for importing, reading, and circulating, a great number of books written by Luther, Occolampadius, Zuinglius, and others of that damnable sect. When the sentence was ready to be passed, the bishop sent a letter to the mayor and sheriffs of London, requiring them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, to be present at passing the sentence, and to take the prisoner into their custody, and burn him to ashes ⁴¹. Soon after this, James Bainham, a gentleman of the Middle Temple, eminent for piety, virtue, and learning, was apprehended by an order of the chancellor sir Thomas More, and conducted to his house at Chelsea, where he treated him for some time with great kindness, and endeavoured to persuade him to renounce his opinions. But finding all his efforts ineffectual, he commanded him to be tied to a tree in his garden, called the Tree of Truth, and whip-

³⁹ Fox, p. 910—924.⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 910.⁴¹ Ibid. p. 933.

ped him with his own hand. He then committed him to the Tower, and put him to the rack, to extort from him the names of his friends in the Temple, who entertained the same opinions. All his goods were confiscated, and his wife was committed to prison, because she would not discover where her husband's books were concealed. Bainham bore all these sufferings with fortitude, without betraying his friends, or abandoning his principles; and the chancellor, despairing of making any impression upon him, sent him to bishop Stokesley to be tried for heresy. He was accordingly tried before the bishop December 25th, A.D. 1531, in sir Thomas More's house at Chelsea, and returned such pointed answers, mostly in scripture language, to a great number of interrogatories, as discover him to have been a man of learning, good sense, and great integrity. He was found guilty of heresy; and the bishop and chancellor having assailed him with earnest intreaties and persuasions, to save himself from an exquisitely painful death, before the irrevocable sentence was pronounced, his courage failed him, and, with great anguish and agitation of mind, he subscribed his abjuration. But he soon and bitterly repented of what he had done, and wrote a letter to the bishop, expressing his sorrow for his abjuration, on which he was apprehended and condemned as a relapsed heretic, and burnt in Smithfield ⁴². Several other persons, in different parts of England at this time, shared

⁴² Fox, p. 937—939.

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the same fate, and were committed to the flames for heresy.

Cardinal Wolsey selected from both universities several persons who were most eminent for genius and learning, to adorn the new and magnificent college he founded at Oxford; and among others, he made choice of John Frith of Cambridge. But it was soon discovered that Frith and several others of this select society were infected with heresy, and they were cast into prison and very harshly treated. The cardinal, who, to his honour, was averse to persecution, being informed of this, commanded them to be set at liberty, thinking they had suffered sufficiently for their imprudence in discovering their opinions. Soon after Frith recovered his liberty, he went to the continent, where he remained about two years, and then returned to England. His return was not long a secret, and so much diligence was used by sir Thomas More and bishop Stokesley in searching for him, that he was at last discovered and apprehended, and committed to the Tower. When he was in the Tower he was engaged in a controversy with sir Thomas More on transubstantiation, contending that the belief of that doctrine was not necessary to salvation, which sir Thomas asserted. He had also a dispute with the chancellor and his son-in-law Mr. Rastal and Fisher bishop of Rochester, on purgatory. He was drawn into both these controversies much against his will, and managed them with great modesty, as well as learning. But his antagonists had a more effectual way of silencing him than by their writings.

writings. They brought him to trial for heresy, and pronounced him guilty, because he denied that the belief of transubstantiation and purgatory was necessary to salvation. For that crime, this amiable, virtuous, and learned man, (for such he appears to have been,) was burnt in Smithfield July 4th, A. D. 1533; and in his company one Andrew Hewel, a young man who had been instructed by him, and seemed ambitious to share his sufferings⁴³. Though Mr. Frith behaved with the most undaunted firmness after he was apprehended, he had neglected no means of escaping from his pursuers, and had suffered great hardships for several months in wandering about under different disguises, in hopes of getting beyond seas. But the ports were so strictly guarded, that he could not escape.

So ardent was the zeal of some of the English prelates at this time against what they call heresy, that they not only wrecked their vengeance on the living, but on the ashes of dead heretics, by committing them to the flames. William Tracee, a gentleman in Gloucestershire, in his last will, declared, that he did not think it necessary to pray to saints, or to celebrate masses for the souls of the dead, and therefore he left no money for that purpose. When this testament was produced in court to be proved, it was challenged as heretical, and carried to archbishop Warham. Tracee was tried and found guilty of heresy A. D. 1532, and a sentence was pronounced, that his body should be

Tracee's
testament.

⁴³ Fox, p. 941—946.

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taken out of the grave and burnt. The execution of this sentence was committed to doctor Parker, chancellor of Worcester, by whom it was executed. Though Henry was sufficiently fierce against heresy and heretics, he was shocked at this transaction when it came to his knowledge. Doctor Parker was questioned for burning Tracee's body without a writ *de heretico comburendo*, (which he did not think necessary in burning a dead heretic,) and compounded for his delinquency by paying 300l. to the king⁴⁴.

Many
abjured.

Besides those above-mentioned, a great multitude of men and women in different parts of England were cruelly persecuted at this time for denying transubstantiation, purgatory, the worship of images, praying to saints, and other peculiar tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome. But the far greatest part of these sufferers, after enduring imprisonment and other hardships, were prevailed upon, by the importunity of their friends and the fear of death, outwardly to renounce opinions which they inwardly believed, and to become hypocrites rather than martyrs. Enough hath been said on this unpleasant subject at present, to shew the cruel intolerant spirit of the king and clergy of England, immediately before their separation from the church of Rome; and to preserve the memory of those good, pious, and brave men, who preferred death to dissimulation, and resigned their lives rather than their principles, which they thereby more

⁴⁴ Fox, p. 951.

effectually

effectually recommended, than they could have done by any other means. Cent. XVI.

When the patience of Henry VIII. was worn out by the dilatory delusive conduct of the court of Rome, and he almost despaired of obtaining what he thought justice from that court, in the affair of his divorce, the ardour of his attachment to Rome began to abate: he could then bear to hear that the power of the pope was not unlimited; that he could not dispense with the laws of God; and even that the authority which the bishops of Rome had so long exercised over the universal church, was an usurped authority, from which he at length determined to emancipate himself and his subjects. This he knew would save them no little labour and a great deal of money, and would bring a great accession both of power and revenue to the crown. He was aware that he would meet with great opposition in the execution of this design, and that the court of Rome would move heaven and earth to raise him up enemies, both at home and abroad. He resolved therefore to proceed with caution, and to carry the parliament, the convocation, and his other subjects, along with him in every step. Henry resolves to break with the pope.

So early as A. D. 1529 Henry threw out a threatening, that if the pope did not do him justice without delay, he would withdraw himself and his subjects from all obedience to him, and connexion with him. This threatening was not, perhaps, sincere; it is certain it was not believed. The pope and cardinals could not imagine that the great champion of the church, who had been so proud Parliament.

of the honours he had received for fighting their battles with his sword, his purse, and his pen, would ever forsake them: it had therefore no effect; and Henry, meeting with fresh delays and disappointments, resolved to execute, or at least to shew the pope that he could execute, what he had threatened. The parliament that met for the first time November 5th, A. D. 1529, proved very complying with the king's views, and was therefore continued about six years by various prorogations; and in its several sessions made great changes in the state of the church of England. In the very first session, the house of commons discovered not a little dissatisfaction with the conduct of the clergy, particularly with the exorbitant exactions of the spiritual court in the probates of wills, and of the parish priests in mortuaries; and laws were made for regulating and restraining these exactions⁴⁵. When these bills were passing the house of commons, some of the members spoke with great warmth against the extortions of the spiritual courts, and others painted the cruelty of incumbents in demanding mortuaries in very strong colours⁴⁶. In a word, the clergy of England, immediately before the reformation, and at the opening of this parliament, were in very disagreeable circumstances; they were not only hated by all who secretly wished for a reformation, for the cruelty with which they persecuted those whom they denominated heretics; but they were envied and disliked, on several ac-

⁴⁵ Statutes, 21 Hen. VIII. cap. 5, 6.

⁴⁶ Wilkins, tom. iii. p. 739.

counts, by the generality of the laity of all ranks; and they were also in a præmunire, and at the king's mercy, which made them more tractable, and more feeble in their opposition to the great changes that soon after followed, than they would have been in better circumstances.

In the next session of this parliament, which commenced July 30th, A. D. 1530, a bolder step was taken. The house of lords wrote a very spirited letter to the pope, accusing him, in very plain terms, of ingratitude and injustice in delaying and declining to grant their sovereign the divorce which he solicited, which had been pronounced just and necessary by the most famous universities and most learned men in Europe. In conclusion, they declared, that if his holiness refused or delayed to grant their just request, they would seek and find relief some other way⁴⁷. This famous letter was subscribed by twenty-eight spiritual and forty-two temporal lords. It was evidently intended to alarm the pope, by shewing him, that if the king was provoked by further delays to withdraw his obedience to the see of Rome, he would not be deserted by his subjects, nor even by his clergy. But it did not produce the desired effect. His holiness returned a smooth and artful answer, (September 27th, A. D. 1530,) in which he bestowed the highest commendations upon the king, expressed his own gratitude for his many great services, and his earnest desire to oblige him as far as he could with justice, in the strongest terms. But

⁴⁷ Herbert, p. 141.

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that when the queen suspected the two cardinals appointed to try the cause in England of partiality, and appealed to the apostolical tribunal, he could not refuse to admit her appeal without injustice. That all the subsequent delays had been owing to the king himself, who refused to send a proctor to Rome to plead his cause. He concluded with saying, "As for what you mention in the end of your letter, that unless we grant your request herein, you shall imagine that the care of yourselves is remitted into your own hands, and that you are left at liberty to seek remedy herein elsewhere: this is a resolution neither worthy of your prudence, nor becoming your christianity; and we therefore, of our fatherly love, exhort you to abstain from any such rash attempt⁴⁸."

The king
supreme
head of the
church,

The king now almost despaired of obtaining a divorce by a sentence of the pope, and therefore he brought that affair before his parliament in its next session, March 30th, A. D. 1531, as hath been already related. He laid the same business also at the same time before the convocation, and produced the opinions of so many universities and learned men against the legality of his marriage, as convinced a great majority of both the upper and lower house, that the marriage was contrary to the laws of God and nature, and that the pope could not dispense with these laws. The king being now confident of the concurrence both of the parliament and convocation in any steps he should find it necessary to take against the pope, he boldly assumed

⁴⁸ Herbert, p. 145.

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the title of supreme head of the church of England. This title appeared for the first time in the petition of the convocation of the province of Canterbury to the king, for relief from the penalties of their præmunire, by a pardon. It did not pass in the convocation without opposition; but being assured by Thomas Cromwell, and some others of the privy council, that their petitions would be rejected if they gave not the king that title, the opposers silently acquiesced. Both the clergy and the laity in the north were more bigoted than those in the south; and the giving the king this title met with more opposition in the convocation of York than of Canterbury; but as they found that they could not obtain their pardon on any other terms, they at length submitted⁴⁹. Only Culbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, protested against that title⁵⁰.

This was not designed to be an insignificant empty title, but was intended to convey to the king, in his own dominions, all the powers and revenues which the popes had long possessed in England. To convince the court of Rome that this was his intention, and that he could accomplish it, the next session of parliament, A. D. 1532, transferred one considerable branch of revenue, the annats or first fruits from the pope to the king⁵¹. This was a severe blow, as these annats amounted to no small sum, and as it was a prelude to similar transfers of other branches of the papal revenues. This proceeding was very disagreeable to many of

Annats
given to
the king.

⁴⁹ Burnet, p. 112.

⁵⁰ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 745.

⁵¹ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 117.

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the English clergy, as they saw its tendency to a breach with Rome, and to subject them in all things to their own sovereign, and the laws of their country, in common with the laity. Archbishop Warham, finding that the torrent began to run strong against the pope and church, particularly in the house of commons, protested in the hands of a notary public before three witnesses February 24th, 1532, in his palace of Lambeth, against all the laws that had been made, or that should thereafter be made, by the present parliament, in derogation of the authority of the pope, or the rights and immunities of the church⁵². The design of this private protest against those laws to which he had given his consent in public, is not very obvious.

The commons complain of the clergy.

The house of commons in this session presented a petition to the king against the clergy, complaining that they harassed the laity by vexatious prosecutions in their spiritual courts; and that they made and executed laws and canons without the royal assent: and that some of these canons were contrary to the laws of the land. The king transmitted this complaint of the commons to the convocation that was then sitting, and commanded them to return an answer. In their answer (which is written with uncommon art) they affirm, that they exercised their spiritual jurisdiction with the greatest lenity, except “upon certain evil-disposed persons, infected and utterly corrupt with the pestilent poison of heresy, and to have had peace with such, it had been against the gospel of our

⁵² Wilkin. p. 746.

“ Saviour Christ, wherein he saith, *non veni mittere*
 “ *pacem, sed gladium.*” In their answer to the
 second article of complaint, they assert roundly,
 “ We repute and take our authority of making
 “ laws to be grounded upon the scripture of God,
 “ and determination of holy church.” They add,
 that as they derived their authority to make laws
 from God, “ We may not submit the execution of
 “ our charge and duty, certainly prescribed by
 “ God, to your highness’s assent, although in very
 “ deed the same be most worthy.” With respect
 to the inconsistency which the commons pretended
 was between the laws of the land, and the canons
 of the church, they observed, that as the canons
 were made by the authority, and were perfectly
 agreeable to the will of God, it would be proper
 for his grace and the parliament to change their
 laws, and bring them to a perfect conformity to
 those of the church. This was a strain rather too
 bold for the times, as they soon after found³³.

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The king was far from being pleased with this
 answer, and soon brought the clergy to lower their
 tone. He sent them two propositions, to which he
 demanded their assent; “ 1. That no constitution
 “ or ordinance shall be hereafter by the clergy
 “ enacted, promulgated, or put in execution, un-
 “ less the king’s highness do approve the same by
 “ his high authority and royal assent. 2. That
 “ whereas divers of the constitutions provincial,
 “ which have been heretofore enacted, be thought
 “ not only much prejudicial to the king’s prerog-

Convoca-
tion.³³ Wilkin. p. 759.

“ gative,

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“ gative, but also much onerous to his highness’s
 “ subjects, it be committed to the examination and
 “ judgment of thirty-two persons ; whereof sixteen
 “ to be of the upper and lower house of the tem-
 “ poralty, and other sixteen of the clergy ; all to
 “ be appointed by the king’s highness : so that,
 “ finally, whichsoever of the said constitutions shall
 “ be thought and determined by the most part of
 “ the said thirty-two persons worthy to be abrogate
 “ and annulled, the same to be afterwards taken
 “ away, and to be of no force or strength.” No-
 thing could be more disagreeable to the generality
 of the clergy than these two propositions, which
 tended to deprive them of the independent power
 of making and executing laws, which they pre-
 tended they had received from God, and to subject
 the sacred canons of the church to be examined and
 repealed by laymen. The convocation held several
 meetings on this subject, and proposed various
 emendations : in particular, they proposed to sub-
 mit all their canons to the examination of the king
 alone : “ Having (say they) especial trust and con-
 “ fidence in your most high and excellent wisdom,
 “ your princely goodness, and fervent zeal to the
 “ promotion of God’s honour and the christian
 “ religion, and especially your incomparable learn-
 “ ing, far exceeding, in our judgment, the learn-
 “ ing of all other kings and princes that we have
 “ read of.” But all this flattery was ineffectual.
 No alteration of the propositions would be admit-
 ted, and they were at last (May 16th, A. D. 1532)
 obliged to give their assent to the propositions as
 they

they stood. But before they did this, they gave in a paper to the king, in which they declared, that they gave their assent to these propositions only in consideration of his high wisdom, great learning, and infinite goodness to them and the church; and asserted in the strongest terms, their divine right to make and execute laws without the royal assent, “ which (add they) your highness yourself, in your
 “ own book, most excellently written against Mar-
 “ tin Luther, doth not only acknowledge and con-
 “ fess, but also with most vehement and inexpug-
 “ nable reasons and authorities doth defend, which
 “ we reckon that of your honour you cannot, nor
 “ of your goodness you will not, revoke.” This was a severe stroke, which was probably remembered to their disadvantage⁵⁴.

Archbishop Warham did not long survive this mortifying transaction. He died in the month of August, A. D. 1532. He was a man of learning, and possessed uncommon prudence and command of temper, which he had frequent opportunities of exercising. In the former part of his pontificate he was eclipsed and controlled by the overpowering influence of cardinal Wolsey, who, by his favour with the king, and his legantine commission from the pope, ingrossed almost all power, both in church and state; and in the last part of it, he was much disquieted by the misunderstanding between the king and the pope, by the attacks of the laity upon the church and clergy, and by the increase of those opinions which he esteemed heretical. His

Death of
archbishop
Warham.

⁵⁴ Wilkin. p. 748—755.

severity

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severity in the prosecution of heretics was the greatest blemish in his character; but it should be considered, that in those times mercy to those who dissented from the church was considered as one of the greatest crimes in a prelate, and persecuting them to death as one of the greatest virtues; so strangely were the minds of men perverted by bigotry and superstition. ¶

Doctor
Cranmer
primate

Henry having for some time entertained a very high opinion of the learning, prudence, and integrity of doctor Thomas Cranmer, resolved to raise him to the primacy, and with that view recalled him from his embassy at the imperial court. Cranmer, who was neither covetous nor ambitious, was far from being delighted with the prospect of this great promotion; on the contrary, foreseeing the difficulties and dangers with which it would be attended, he declined it with much earnestness and sincerity. But the king was positive; and he complied, in hopes of promoting a reformation in the church, of which he was sensible of the necessity⁵³.

consecrated.

A difficulty soon occurred. Doctor Cranmer had strong scruples about taking the oath of canonical obedience to the pope, both because he thought it inconsistent with the oath he was to take to the king, and because he apprehended that it would restrain him from promoting that reformation in the church which he intended; and for these scruples it is certain there was some ground. But as the king at this time entertained hopes of a reconciliation with the court of Rome, which he

⁵³ Strype's Life of Cranmer, ch. 4.

still desired; and as the pope had approved of the election of doctor Cranmer, and had sent over all the bulls for his consecration; it was thought necessary not to omit the oath which these bulls required. This question was at length referred to certain canonists and casuists, who proposed the following salvo, that the primate elect, before he took the oath to the pope, should make a formal protestation: "That he did not intend, by taking that oath, to restrain himself from doing what he thought to be his duty to God, to his king, and his country." This salvo, though liable to great objections, was adopted. He made the proposed protestation before he took the oath of canonical obedience, and was consecrated March 13th, A. D. 1533, by the bishops of Lincoln, Exeter, and St. Asaph⁵⁶. As both the parliament and convocation were then sitting, the new primate was immediately engaged in very important transactions, which have been already related, viz. the dissolution of the king's marriage with the first queen Catherine of Spain, and the confirmation of his marriage with his second queen Anne Boleyn⁵⁷.

Several efforts were made by Henry A. D. 1533, aided by his ally the king of France, to prevail upon the pope to dissolve the marriage between him and queen Catherine, to prevent a total rupture between Rome and England, and to pave the way for a reconciliation. But all these efforts were unsuccessful, and a rash sentence pronounced by the pope (under the influence, it is said, of passion) in

Breach
between
Rome and
England.

⁵⁶ Burnet, p. 128.

⁵⁷ See chap. i. sect. ii.

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a full consistory March 23d, A. D. 1534, confirming the marriage between Henry and Catherine, and declaring it lawful, brought that tedious and perplexing affair to a crisis, and produced a total breach between the court and church of Rome and the court and church of England⁵⁸: one of the most important and propitious events in the history of Great Britain.

Acts of
parlia-
ment.

The breach being now made became daily wider and wider: mutual injuries were multiplied; and the English parliament made several acts, and the convocation several canons, which rendered a reconciliation almost impossible. The act that had been made in a former session of this parliament against the payment of first fruits to the pope was confirmed, and many new clauses added concerning the election and consecration of prelates, without any application to Rome for bulls of any kind; and those who violated this law were declared to be in a præmunire⁵⁹. By another act, all appeals to the pope and his courts at Rome were prohibited, under the same penalty; and the power of determining causes in the last resort was in some cases conferred on the primate, and in others on the king⁶⁰. By another law, which is very long and particular, all payments to the pope, for Peter-pence, dispensations, procurations, provisions, bulls, delegacies, rescripts, licences, faculties, grants, relaxations, rehabilitations, abolitions, &c. &c. are prohibited⁶¹. By

⁵⁸ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. p. 769.

⁵⁹ Statutes, 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.

⁶⁰ Ibid. cap. 19.

⁶¹ Ibid. cap. 21.

these

these laws the pope was deprived of all the power and all the revenues he had long possessed in England. This was a severe blow, which, it is probable, his holiness did not expect. These laws were first brought into the house of commons, and they treated the pope with little respect or ceremony, calling him and his predecessors impostors, who had long deceived the world by false pretences, and usurpers of powers and prerogatives to which they had no title. If any person in England had used this language only a few years before, he would have been committed to the flames. The same parliament in the next session, November A. D. 1534, granted to the king, as supreme head on earth of the church of England, and to his heirs and successors, all the powers, prerogatives, and emoluments, they had taken from the pope, which brought a great accession both of power and revenue to the crown⁶².

Henry and his ministers were at no little pains to reconcile the minds of his subjects of all ranks to this great change in the government of the church, and to eradicate their veneration for the pope, and their respect for his authority, to which they had been so long accustomed. With this view he procured and published the opinions of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge: "That the bishop of Rome had no more authority in England by the word of God, than any other foreign bishop." All the English bishops subscribed and sealed, and took a solemn oath to adhere to the same opinion.

Precautions.

⁶² Statutes, 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1 and 3.

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The name of the pope was struck out of all the books that were used in the service of the church. A very strict injunction was issued, commanding all prelates to preach every Sunday and holiday in support of the king's supremacy, and against the authority of the bishop of Rome, and to command their clergy to do the same. Instructions were sent to all the sheriffs to keep a watchful eye on the clergy in their several counties, and to send up the names of such as did not preach against the pope's authority, and in vindication of the king's supremacy; or did it in a delusory superficial manner. Even schoolmasters were enjoined to give proper instructions to their scholars on these subjects. Several books were written and circulated with great industry, to convince the world that the dominion which the bishop of Rome claimed and exercised over the christian church, as Christ's vicar upon earth, was an usurpation, and had no foundation in scripture⁶³. Spies were sent into all parts of the country, and even into Scotland, to hear and report the observations that were made upon the late transactions⁶⁴. These prudent precautions were neither unnecessary, nor without effect: they were not unnecessary, because several of the clergy, particularly of the friars, travelled up and down the country preaching with vehemence in support of the papal pretensions, and inflaming the minds of the people against the king for assuming the supremacy: they were not without effect, because they put a stop to the inflammatory declamations

⁶³ Wilkin. p. 771—776.⁶⁴ Strype's Mem. ch. 21.

of those dangerous incendiaries; and encouraged such of the clergy as wished for a reformation, and even some who had nothing at heart but their own promotion, to endeavour by their preaching and writings to convince the people, that the claim of the bishop of Rome to the government of the whole church was not well founded; and that the king had an undoubted right to the supremacy in his own dominions, by which the peace of the kingdom was at this time preserved ⁶⁵.

Still further to secure the public tranquillity, the sentence of divorce that had been pronounced by the archbishop of Canterbury between the king and his first queen Catherine, and the sentence of the same prelate confirming the king's marriage with his second queen Anne Boleyn, were confirmed by parliament; and by the same act the succession to the crown was settled on the king's issue male by queen Anne, or any future queen; and failing them, on the princess Elizabeth and her issue, by which the princess Mary was excluded as illegitimate. This act was to be published in every county of the kingdom before the 1st of May, A. D. 1534; and if any person, after that day, did any thing, by act or writing, to disparage the king's present marriage, or to defeat the succession as then settled, he was to be punished as a traitor; and all subjects above the age of twenty-one were appointed to take a solemn oath, acknowledging the legality of the king's marriage with queen Anne, and engaging to support the succession ⁶⁶. Fisher, bishop of Ro-

⁶⁵ Strype, ch. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24.

⁶⁶ Statutes, 25 Hen. cap. 22.

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chester, and sir Thomas More, (as hath been before narrated,) fell sacrifices with this law; and the execution of two persons so eminent for their rank, and so renowned for their piety, virtue, and learning, struck terror into all others. The oath was taken not only by the laity of all ranks, but by all the clergy both regular and secular, though it contained a clause acknowledging the king's supremacy; and declaring that the bishop of Rome had no more authority in England than any other foreign bishop⁶⁷. The pope therefore appeared now to have lost all his influence, and all his partisans in England. But this was a fallacious appearance. Great multitudes took this oath only to save their lives, and with a resolution to break it as soon as they could do it with safety.

Proclamation.

Though the church of England was now separated from the church of Rome, it still retained all the doctrines and ceremonies, together with the odious persecuting spirit, of that church. The king, in the beginning of 1535, issued a proclamation, threatening death without mercy to all who denied or disputed the doctrine of transubstantiation, or any of the other doctrines of holy church, or who contemned or violated any of the laudable rights and ceremonies heretofore used; as holy bread, holy water, procession, kneeling, and creeping to the cross on Good Friday, &c. &c. By this proclamation such of the clergy as had married were deprived of their orders and benefices, and declared to be laymen; and such as presumed to marry after-

⁶⁷ Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 774, 780, 781, 782.

wards

wards were not only to be deprived, but also imprisoned and punished as the king pleased⁶⁸. Several anabaptists, who had fled from persecution in Germany, and had taken shelter in England about this time, were apprehended and put to death, not only for their doctrine concerning baptism, but chiefly for denying transubstantiation⁶⁹. In a word, no idea was yet entertained of the right of private judgment in matters of religion. Henry was the pope of England; heresy was still accounted the greatest of all crimes, and subjected those who were convicted of it to the most cruel of all punishments.

The king being now fully invested with the title of supreme head of the church of England, and with all the powers annexed to that title, resolved to exercise these powers in their full extent. To accomplish this, he appointed Thomas Cromwell, then secretary of state, his vicar-general and vicegerent, with authority to visit all ecclesiastical persons and communities in his dominions, to rectify and correct all abuses, and, in a word, to do every thing that he himself could do as supreme head of the church of England. He granted him also a power to give commissions under the great seal to such persons as he should think proper, to assist him in performing the duties of that high and arduous office. Cromwell accordingly gave commissions to doctors Leighton, Lee, London, and many other persons, containing very ample powers to visit all churches, metropolitical, cathedral, and collegiate;

Cromwell
vicegerent.

⁶⁸ Wilkin. Concil. tom. iii. 778.

⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 779.

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all monasteries and priories, both of men and women; to inquire into the conduct of archbishops, bishops, and dignitaries; of abbots and priors, abbesses, prioresses, monks, and nuns, both as to spirituals and temporals; and to censure and punish such as were found delinquents, according to their demerits⁷⁰.

Visitation
of monas-
teries.

Though these commissioners were authorized to visit the secular clergy, even of the highest dignity, this, it is probable, was not designed to be executed, but only to exhibit an appearance of impartiality, and to conceal from the monastics the dreadful blow that was intended to be given them.

It is certain the instructions that were given to these visitors relate only to convents, and bore the following title: "Articles to be inquired into in this
" royal visitation of monastics, especially of those
" who are exempt from the jurisdiction of their
" diocesan, who are now at last subjected to the
" jurisdiction of his majesty." These instructions are very particular, and consist of no fewer than eighty-six articles: many of them relate to the state and management of their revenues, their relics, jewels, plate, furniture, corn, cattle, and goods of every kind. Several of them seem to intimate a suspicion, that the monks and nuns did not observe their vows of chastity very strictly, and suggest the inquiries to be made on that subject. They were to inquire, whether the monks of any monastery were defamed for incontinency; whether women were observed to resort to it by back-ways; and

⁷⁰ Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 784, 785.

whether

whether boys and young men frequently slept with the abbot, or the monks. With respect to nunneries, they were directed to examine very carefully the height of the outward wall, the strength of the doors and windows, and of their bars and bolts; to search very diligently for dark and secret passages; to inquire whether the gates and doors were kept shut, and whether the keys were ever committed to the keeping of any of the young nuns, &c. &c.⁷¹

Henry had various reasons to dislike the monks: he was provoked by their declamations, both public and private, against his divorce: he suspected them of conveying intelligence to his enemies abroad, and of fomenting disaffection among his subjects at home. Though they had lately taken a solemn oath to support his supremacy, he knew they were still devoted to the pope, his greatest enemy. Their spoils also presented a tempting bait to a prince who was at once profuse and covetous. It was evidently hazardous to attempt to overturn an establishment so ancient, so opulent, and which had long been esteemed sacred. But several circumstances now concurred to render such an attempt less dangerous than formerly. The monks were hated by the secular clergy, had lost the favour of the laity of all ranks by their vices, and could expect no protection from their great patron at Rome. Henry was encouraged to attack them by Cranmer and Cromwell, who thought their revenues might be employed to better purposes;

Henry dislikes the monks.

⁷¹ Wilkin, Concil. tom. iii. p. 786—789.

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Reports
of the vi-
sitors.

and the present visitation was intended to pave the way for their suppression, by detecting and exposing their secret enormities and vices.

The visitors, having received their commissions and instructions, were dispatched into different parts of the kingdom at the same time, that the monks might have as little warning of their approach as possible. They executed their commissions with zeal and diligence, and made some curious discoveries almost in every house, not much to the honour of its inhabitants. In making these discoveries they were greatly indebted to the violent factions and animosities which reigned among the monks and nuns, who informed against one another, and against their superiors. Accounts of their proceedings were transmitted by the visitors to the vicar-general, and contained sufficient materials to render the monastics completely infamous, and the objects of universal detestation, for their gross absurd superstition and idolatry, their infernal cruelty, their shameful impositions on the credulity of the people, their abandoned unnatural incontinency, their drunkenness, gluttony, and other vices. Some of the old abbots and friars did not attempt to conceal their amours, which they knew to be impossible. The holy father, the prior of Maiden-Bradley, assured the visitors, that he had only married six of his sons and one of his daughters out of the goods of his priory as yet; but that several more of his children were now grown up, and would soon be marriageable. He produced a dispensation from the pope permitting him to keep a mistress; and
he

he acquainted them that he took none but young maidens to be his mistresses, the handsomest that he could procure; and when he was disposed to change, he got them good husbands⁷². But the page of history must not be stained with the abominations contained in the reports of these visitors. It may be sufficient to lay before the reader, a short description of their contents in the preamble to the act of parliament which they produced: "Forasmuch as manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living, is daily used and committed in abbeys, priories, and other religious houses of monks, canons, and nuns; and albeit, many continual visitations hath been heretofore had by the space of two hundred years and more, for an honest charitable reformation of such unthrifty, carnal, and abominable living, yet nevertheless little or none amendment is hitherto had, but their vicious living shamefully increaseth and augmenteth," &c.⁷³ It is but just to notice, that though the corruption of the monastics in England at this time was very general, it was not universal: some in almost every monastery were regular in their conduct, and at their own desire were set at liberty. A few convents were found to be well governed, and unexceptionable: and for the preservation of these, the visitors pleaded with great earnestness⁷⁴. This affords a presumptive proof, that the complaints of the delinquent monks, of

⁷² Strype, ch. 34, 35.⁷³ Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 28.⁷⁴ Strype, p. 255.

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the extreme severity of the visitors, were not well founded.

Small monasteries dissolved.

HAVING received ample information of the state of the convents, and the manners of their inhabitants, it was debated in council what was proper to be done; and on this subject several schemes were proposed⁷⁵. It was believed to be dangerous to attempt the dissolution of all the religious houses in the kingdom at once; it was therefore very prudently resolved to begin with the smaller monasteries, which were said to be the most corrupt, and were certainly the weakest. The reports of the visitors were laid before parliament, which furnished the enemies of the monastics with materials for declaiming against them, and almost stopped the mouths of their friends. By the last act of the long parliament in April 1536, all the houses of monks, canons, and nuns, that had not above 200*l.* of yearly revenue, and did not contain above twelve members, were dissolved, and all their lands and goods granted to the king. By the same act, all the resignations that had been made of religious houses by their superiors to the king were confirmed⁷⁶. The number of religious houses dissolved by this act was three hundred and seventy-six, and their former possessors were removed into the greater convents of the same order. The annual revenues arising from their lands was computed to be 32,000*l.*; and their jewels, plate, and furniture, with their corn, cattle, and other goods, were

⁷⁵ Strype, p. 271, &c.

⁷⁶ Statutes, 27 Hen. VIII, cap. 28.

estimated

estimated at 100,000l.: but both these computations were much below their real value.

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Several severe proclamations had been issued by the king, at the requisition of the clergy, against all who read, or kept by them, Tindal's Translation of the New Testament into English. A copy of this book found in the possession of any person was sufficient to convict him of heresy, and subject him to the flames. The bishops were at incredible pains to prevent the importation of those dangerous volumes, to seize them after their importation, and to punish the importers and purchasers. They pretended that Tindal's Translation was full of errors and heresies; and they promised to prepare and publish a more faithful translation: but they were in no haste to perform their promise. In the mean time, those of the people of all ranks who suspected that many errors prevailed in the church, and wished for a reformation, became more and more importunate and impatient to have the use of the scriptures in their native language. At length archbishop Cranmer, wishing to gratify this laudable desire of the people, obtained the king's permission to prepare a translation of the Bible, to be published by authority. To accomplish this work, Cranmer divided the New Testament into nine parts, chose nine of the best Greek scholars he could find, and committed the translating of one of these parts to each. When they were all translated and returned to him, he sent one of these parts to one of the most learned of his brethren the bishops, to be corrected, and returned with their observations.

Translation of the Bible.

Eight

1536. 22.

Letter of the nine bishops' complaint with this request, our brother, master of London, returned us yet the bills of the bishops with a ready message: That he disapproved the allowing the use of the scriptures to the people, which would breed them into carnalitie errors, and subvert the peace of the church. The prince expressing some surprise at this message, one of the company answered, that master Brinkley would give him much trouble about any schism in which he had no legacy; and besides, that he, the apostles were so poor that they are quite below the notice of my lord of London. This translation was not published till about three years after the order for preparing it was granted.

1536. 22.

In a convocation of the province of Canterbury at St. Paul's, June 21st, A. D. 1536, the lord Cromwell took his seat above the archbishop as the king's viceroy. In the fourth session, June 23d, *John Gwent*, prolocutor of the lower house, brought up a complaint to the higher house, that many dangerous errors and damnable heresies were now publicly preached in all parts of England; and produced a schedule of no fewer than sixty-seven of those abuses, errors, and heresies, and required that they should be reformed. Many of these pretended errors and abuses are now the established doctrines and practices of the church of England; such as preaching against transubstantiation, purgatory, extreme unction, auricular confession, penances, pardons, in-

dulgences, praying to saints, worshipping images, and relics; pilgrimages, holy water, hallowed oil, bread, candles, ashes, and palms; and in a word, against all doctrines that have no foundation in scripture, and all ceremonies that are merely of human invention. Against all these, the clergy of the lower house of convocation, complained, that some heretical preachers declaimed, and many of the people talked, with impunity⁷⁸. This is a sufficient proof, that the principles and spirit of the reformation had at this time made no great progress among the clergy of the province of Canterbury. Though they had, with extreme reluctance, renounced the supremacy of the pope, they still retained their attachment to all the tenets and ceremonies of the church of Rome.

The clergy of the province of York were still more averse to all reformation, than their brethren in the south. The vicegerent had sent ten interrogatories to them, to which he required their answers. We may guess at the questions by the answers. To the first they answered—That all who preached against purgatory, worshipping of saints, pilgrimages, images, &c. should be committed to the flames as heretics. To the second—That neither the king, nor any temporal man, could be supreme head of the church by the laws of God. To the third—That they were not sufficiently instructed in the fact to return any answer. To the fourth—That no clerk ought to be put to death without degradation. To the fifth—That

York convocation.

⁷⁸ Wilkin. p. 805.

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no man ought to be drawn out of sanctuary, but in certain cases expressed in the laws of the church. To the sixth—That the clergy in the north had not granted the tenths and first-fruits to the king in convocation; and by the laws of the church, they can make no such grant; and that they had not given their consent to the act of parliament. They think, that by the laws of God no temporal man can claim such tenths and first-fruits. To the seventh—That lands given to God, the church, or religious men, may not be taken away, and put to profane uses, by the laws of God. To the eighth—We think dispensations lawfully granted by the pope to be good; and pardons have been allowed by general councils and the laws of the church. To the ninth—We think, that by the law of the church, general councils, interpretations of approved doctors, and consent of christian people, the pope of Rome hath been taken for the head of the church, and vicar of Christ; and so ought to be taken. This was a very extraordinary answer from men who had lately renounced the supremacy of the pope, and acknowledged the supremacy of the king by a solemn oath. They had probably obtained a dispensation from Rome. To the tenth they answered—We think that the examination and correction of deadly sin belongeth to the ministers of the church, by God's law⁷⁹. Besides these answers, they boldly demanded the restoration of the monasteries, and the repeal of several acts of parliament. In these answers and demands we discover

⁷⁹ Strype's Appendix, No. lxxiv.

the seeds of that formidable rebellion called the pilgrimage of grace, that broke out in the north in October, A. D. 1536, about two months after this convocation. The demands of the insurgents were in the same spirit, and almost in the same words with the answers of the convocation. Cent. XVI.

England was at this time a scene of great anxiety and agitation, of violent animosities and disputes between the friends and enemies of reformation. The bishops were equally divided. Cranmer of Canterbury, Goodrich of Ely, Shaxton of Sarum, Latimer of Worcester, Fox of Hereford, Hillsley of Rochester, and Barlow of Saint David's, favoured, and endeavoured to promote a reformation both in the doctrines and ceremonies of the church; which was opposed with equal zeal by Lee of York, Stokesley of London, Tunstall of Durham, Gardiner of Winchester, Sherborne of Chichester, Nix of Norwich, and Kite of Carlisle⁹⁰. The dignitaries in the several sees generally co-operated with their bishops; the inferior clergy, and the laity of all ranks, were no less divided, and as warmly engaged in this controversy. Many books were published on both sides, and passionate altercations raged in cities, towns, and villages, between the two parties. The king, desirous to allay this ferment, which threatened the most dangerous commotions, gave a commission to the bishops and some other learned men to draw up certain articles of union, to be published by royal authority, as the creed and ritual of the church of England, in which

⁹⁰ Fuller, p. 212.

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all the subjects were to be commanded to acquiesce. After many meetings and much altercation, the commissioners finished their work : each party relinquishing some of their peculiar opinions, in order to preserve others. It consisted of two parts : the first contained the doctrines necessary to be believed ; and the second, the ceremonies proper to be retained to promote devotion. In the first part, the people were commanded to believe every thing contained in the scriptures and three creeds ; that called the Apostle's, the Nicene, and the Athanasian. The three sacraments, of baptism, of penance, and of the altar, are explained, and declared to be necessary to salvation. In the explanation of baptism, the necessity of baptizing infants is asserted, and rebaptism is declared to be a damnable heresy. In the explanation of penance, auricular confession to a priest is made necessary ; and the people were to be taught to give no less faith and credence to the words " of absolution pronounced by the ministers of the church, than they would give unto the very voice and words of God himself, if he should speak unto us out of heaven." This most impious and pernicious doctrine was too honourable and advantageous to the clergy to be soon relinquished. In the explanation of the sacrament of the altar, transubstantiation is asserted in the strongest terms that could be devised. This first part concludes with an explanation of the doctrine of justification, nearly the same with that which hath been adopted by all protestant churches. In the second part, concerning ceremonies, images

were to be continued in churches, and the people were to be permitted to present offerings to them, to kneel, and to burn incense before them; but they were to be taught that this was not done to the images themselves, but to the honour of God; "for else there might fortune of idolatry to ensue, which God forbid." This doth not seem to have been the most effectual way to prevent idolatry. Saints were to be honoured, but not with that confidence and honour that are only due unto God: that it was proper to pray to them to be our intercessors, and to pray for us to Almighty God. The people were to be instructed, "to pray for souls departed, and to commit them in our prayers to God's mercy, and also to cause others to pray for them in masses and exequies, and to give alms to others to pray for them; whereby they may be relieved and holpen of some part of their pain." By this the emoluments of the clergy were secured under the name of alms. The people were to be enjoined and exhorted to observe almost all the former ceremonies; but they were to be taught, "that none of these ceremonies have power to remit sin, but only to stir and lift up our minds unto God, by whom only our sins be forgiven." These articles were published by the king, and all his subjects were commanded to receive and obey them. The friends of reformation seem to have gained some advantage on this occasion. The scriptures and the three ancient creeds were made the standards of doctrine, without

²¹ Fuller, p. 215, &c.

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Injunctions.

any mention of tradition. Four of the seven sacraments were omitted; purgatory was left doubtful, pilgrimages were not enjoined, and several other things were explained and softened. Both parties, however, were discontented. The papists complained that too much of the former system was given up; and the reformers, that too much of it was retained. These articles were subscribed by all the members of both houses of convocation ⁸².

Thomas lord Cromwell, the king's vicar-general, published injunctions from time to time, directing the clergy what doctrines they were to preach, and instructing them, in an authoritative, manner, how to perform the various duties of their sacred office. This was humiliating to the clergy, but it was necessary. Many of the parish priests never preached, and others of them preached only on such subjects as tended to inflame the bigotry and superstition of the people. The vicar-general, therefore, in his injunctions, commanded all rectors, vicars, and curates to preach one sermon in each quarter of the year: "Wherein," says he, "ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to works of charity, mercy, and faith, specially prescribed and commanded in scripture, and not to repose their trust and affiance in any other works devised by men's fantasies, besides scripture; as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, to images or relics, or kissing or licking the same. If ye have here-

⁸² Wilkin. p. 817.

" tofore

“ tofore declared to your parishioners any thing to
 “ the extolling or setting forth pilgrimages, feigned
 “ relics, or images, or any such superstition, ye
 “ shall now openly before the same recant and re-
 “ prove the same; shewing them, as the truth is,
 “ that ye did the same upon no ground of scripture,
 “ but as one led and seduced by a common error
 “ and abuse crept into the church, through the suf-
 “ ferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the
 “ same ³³.” These and several other injunctions in
 the same strain and spirit, that were published by
 the vicar-general, A. D. 1536-7, were drawn up by
 archbishop Cranmer: but they were very disagree-
 able to the great body of the clergy, who still re-
 tained a cordial affection to all the gainful tenets of
 the church of Rome. So much were many of the
 clergy dissatisfied with these injunctions, that they
 read them in such a manner that none could under-
 stand them, and told their people in private, to do
 as their fathers had done, and that the old way was
 the best ³⁴.

Henry VIII. became more and more tenacious Visitation.
 of his new title of supreme head of the church of
 England, when he found that it brought him a very
 great accession both of power and revenue. At
 the same time he knew that the monastics of all
 the different orders in his dominions were secret
 enemies to his supremacy, and devoted to the pope.
 He determined, therefore, first to disgrace them,
 by exposing their vices and impostures, and then
 to ruin them, and enrich the crown with their

³³ Wilkin. p. 816.³⁴ Strype's Cranmer, p. 70.

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spoils. In order to this, he appointed a new visitation, A. D. 1537, of all the remaining religious houses in the kingdom; and the commissioners were instructed to make strict inquiry into the vices, the superstitious practices, and the cheats of the religious of both sexes, by which they deceived the people and nourished superstition to enrich themselves. Many of the monks were so much alarmed at the report of this visitation, that they surrendered their houses and possessions to the king, without waiting the arrival of the visitors. These surrenders were made on various pretences; but the principal motives that influenced the surrenderers were, to prevent the publication and punishment of their vices, crimes, and impostures, and to procure better treatment and more liberal pensions. The chief employment of the visitors, in this and the two following years, seems to have been settling the surrenders of monasteries, and the pensions of the abbots, priors, and monks; making surveys of their estates; taking possession of their relics, jewels, and plate (which in some houses was of great value); selling their furniture; pulling down their churches, and such of their other buildings as were only suited and useful to monastics; disposing of their bells, lead, and other materials. It is almost incredible how many magnificent churches, cloisters, dormitories, libraries, and other buildings, which had been erected at an immense expence of money and labour, were unroofed and ruined, in the short space of three or four years. To this dreadful havoc Henry and his courtiers were prompted, partly

partly by their avarice, and partly to prevent the re-establishment of the monasticks⁸⁵. Cent. XVI.

To finish this great affair, a parliament was called, which met at Westminster April 28th, A. D. 1540. On the 13th of May a bill was brought into the house of peers for granting to the king, and his heirs and successors, all the houses, lands, and goods of all the abbies, priories, nunneries, chantries, hospitals, and religious houses, that had already been surrendered or suppressed, or that should hereafter be surrendered or suppressed. The journals take no notice of any opposition to this bill in the house of peers: but it certainly met with opposition. There were no fewer than twenty abbots in that house, who could not all be silent on that occasion⁸⁶. Besides, we are informed that Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Latimer bishop of Worcester, and several other prelates that favoured the new learning, (as the reformation was then called,) pleaded earnestly for the preservation of three or four houses in every county, to be converted into schools for the education of youth, and hospitals for the relief of the poor; and that by their opposition to his favourite bill, they incurred the king's displeasure, which he soon after made them feel⁸⁷. Great art was used to persuade the temporal peers and the gentlemen of the house of commons to pass this bill, against which they had many objections. They were assured, "That if the monasteries were suppressed, and their houses,

Monasteries suppressed.

⁸⁵ Burnet, vol. i. p. 235, &c.

⁸⁶ Journals, Dugdale, p. 501.

⁸⁷ Strype's Cranmer, p. 72.

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“ lands, and goods granted to their king, there
 “ should be created forty earls, sixty barons, three
 “ thousand knights, and forty thousand soldiers
 “ with skilful captains, and competent maintenance
 “ for them all; and that no more loans or subsidies
 “ should ever be demanded ⁸⁸.” This bill accordingly passed both houses with much less opposition than might have been expected; and in consequence of it, all the possessions of six hundred and forty-five convents, ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and an hundred and ten hospitals, were annexed to the crown. The yearly rent of their lands was estimated at 160,000*l.*; which (if we may rely on the opinion of a right reverend and well-informed historian) was not one tenth of their real value ⁸⁹. The jewels, plate, furniture, and other goods, which had belonged to all these houses, must have amounted to a prodigious sum, of which no computation can now be made. In many of the richer monasteries their vestments were of cloth of gold, silk and velvet, richly embroidered; their crucifixes, images, candlesticks, and other utensils, and ornaments of their churches, were of gold, silver gilt, and silver ⁹⁰. The gold taken from the shrine of Thomas à Becket at Canterbury, filled, it is said, two chests, which eight strong men could hardly carry. Much of the jewels and plate in some monasteries was conveyed away before their dissolution, and some of it was

⁸⁸ Coke's 4 Institute, f. 44.⁸⁹ Burnet, p. 269.⁹⁰ See Strype's, Cranmer, Append. No. xvi,

probably

probably secreted by those who had it in charge; but after all, immense quantities came into the treasury, where it did not long continue.

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The abolition of all the monastic orders in England, and the alienation of their property, was a very bold measure, and affords a striking proof of the great power and awful determined character of the king, and of the superior abilities, courage, and wisdom of his minister and vicegerent Cromwell. It contributed greatly to promote the permanent prosperity of the kingdom in many respects, as well as the reformation of religion, which could not have been accomplished while those nurseries of idleness, vice, and superstition remained.

Though Henry had now emancipated himself and his subjects from the dominion of the pope, he still continued as much attached as ever to some of the most absurd tenets of the church of Rome, particularly transubstantiation; and persecuted those who presumed to call that doctrine in question with the most unrelenting cruelty. A remarkable example of this occurred A. D. 1538. One John Nicolson, who taught a school in London, and to conceal himself from his former persecutors, had assumed the name of Lambert, being brought before archbishop Cranmer, and accused of heresy, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the eucharist, appealed to the king, as supreme head of the church of England. Henry, vain of his theological learning, and instigated by Gardiner bishop of Winchester, the most artful of men and the greatest of flatterers, determined to bring Lam-

Lambert
burnt.

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bert to a solemn trial before himself in Westminster-hall. Letters were written to all the prelates and principal nobility to attend this trial. When the appointed day arrived, the king appeared in great state, clothed in white, and seated under a canopy of the same colour, to denote the purity of his faith. The spiritual lords were seated on his right hand, and the temporal peers on his left; and the hall was crowded with spectators, attracted from all parts of the kingdom by the news of this extraordinary trial. When the prisoner was brought into the court, he appeared to be greatly amazed and disconcerted at the sight of the august assembly, and the stern countenance of the king, who, standing, commanded one of the bishops to declare the occasion of the meeting. This being done, the king, after railing at the prisoner with great vehemence for having changed his name, asked him, "Dost thou believe the real corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament of the altar?" "I believe," said Lambert, "with St. Augustine, the presence of Christ in the sacrament in a certain manner." The king, in a passionate tone, commanded him to give a direct answer to the question. Lambert fell upon his knees, and began to praise the king for his goodness, in condescending to hear one of the humblest of his subjects; but Henry interrupted him, saying, he came not there to hear his own praises; and commanded him instantly to answer his question; which he did, by acknowledging that he did not believe the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament,

sacrament. Ten bishops had been appointed to manage this debate, of which Cranmer was the first; who, addressing the prisoner with great mildness, attempted to prove, from our Saviour's appearing to Paul at his conversion, that a body might be in more places than one at the same time. But Gardiner thinking that he used too much gentleness, broke in and urged the same argument with great asperity of language. He was followed by Tonstal of Durham, Stokesley of London, and other six prelates, who in succession argued for the corporal presence from various topics. Lambert, who was a man of good sense and learning, and had made this controversy very much his study, answered all his opponents in their turns, with great acuteness and strength of argument, though he was often interrupted, insulted, and ridiculed. At length, worn out with the fatigue of standing five hours, and disputing with so many antagonists, he remained silent. The king then asked him, "Will you live, or die?" "I commit my soul," said he, "to the mercy of God, and my body to the mercy of your majesty."—"I will have no mercy," said Henry, "on heretics;" and commanded Cromwell to read the sentence, which condemned the prisoner to be burnt as an obstinate heretic. This cruel sentence was executed with circumstances of uncommon cruelty⁹¹. It is impossible to contemplate this pompous display of barbarous inhuman bigotry without surprise and horror. May God preserve this happy island from

⁹¹ Fox, p. 1024.

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the return of that infernal spirit! Some have imagined that Cranmer, on this occasion, argued against the conviction of his own mind. But this is a mistake; there is sufficient evidence that at this time, and for some years after, he was a firm believer of the corporal presence⁹².

Many
holidays
abolished.

While Henry was thus sacrificing his innocent subjects to his bigoted attachment to the tenets of the church of Rome, he was doing some things which contributed not a little to reformation. The Romish calendar was crowded with saints; and the prodigious number of holidays greatly impeded industry, and promoted riot and debauchery. He issued a proclamation, A. D. 1536, abolishing all the holidays in harvest, from July 1st to September 29th, except three, commanding the feasts of the dedication of all the churches in England, commonly called wakes, to be kept on one day, the first Sunday in October, and prohibiting the observation of the feasts of the patrons of churches⁹³. This act and proclamation was sent to all the bishops, with a letter from the king, commanding them strictly to see it put in execution in their respective dioceses; and it was enforced in subsequent injunctions. By this, many days were rescued from riot, to be employed in useful labour.

Bible
translated.

There was nothing the friends of the old learning (as the tenets of popery were then called) more dreaded and deprecated, than the translation of the scriptures into English, and granting the use of them to the people; nor was there any thing that

⁹² Strype's Cranmer, ch. 18. p. 66.

⁹³ Wilkin. tom.iii. p. 223.
the

the friends of reformation more ardently laboured to procure. This was a long and violent struggle between the two parties. Archbishop Warham sent a pastoral letter to all the prelates of his province, A. D. 1526, acquainting them that certain children of iniquity, blinded by malice, had translated the New Testament into English, to spread heresy, and ruin men's souls; and that some of these pernicious books had been brought into England. He directed them, therefore, to command all persons within their dioceses, who had any of these dangerous books, to deliver them up to their bishop, or his commissary, within thirty days, under the pain of excommunication, and of being punished as heretics⁹⁴. Four years after this, the cry for a translation of the Bible, and the opposition to it still continuing, the king published a proclamation; in which he told his subjects, that he had consulted the two primates, and several other bishops and learned men; "and that, by all those
 " virtuous, discreet, and well-learned personages in
 " divinity, it is thought that it is not necessary the
 " scriptures be in the English tongue, and in the
 " hands of the common people. And that having
 " respect to the malignity of this present time, with
 " the inclinations of the people to erroneous opi-
 " nions, the translation of the New Testament and
 " the Old into the vulgar tongue of the English,
 " should rather be the occasion of continuance or
 " increase of errors among the said people, than
 " any benefice or commodity towards the weale of

⁹⁴ Wilkin. p. 795.

" their

Cent. XVI. “ their souls ⁹⁵.” Such were the sentiments of the king and prelates of England on this subject at that time. But after Henry began to quarrel with the pope, and Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he changed his opinion, and began to listen to the opinions of his subjects, to have the scriptures in a language they understood. When doctor Cranmer was advanced to the primacy, he stood in the highest degree of favour with the king, which was the cause of his unexpected promotion. This gave him so much influence and authority in the church, that the convocation of his province, December 9th, A. D. 1534, consented and agreed that he should make application to the king, to name and appoint certain honest and learned men to translate the scriptures into English, to be put into the hands of the people, for their instruction ⁹⁶. Cranmer applied to the king accordingly, and obtained a commission to himself and some other learned men, to prepare a translation of the Bible, for the instruction of his subjects. For expedition in this work, which he had much at heart, he divided the Bible into several parts, and gave one to each translator. When the translation was finished, the printing of it was committed to Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch, who obtained permission from Francis to print it at Paris ⁹⁷. But on a complaint from the French clergy, the part that was then printed was seized. The printers, however, were permitted to retire with their types and presses, and

⁹⁵ Wilkin. p. 741.

⁹⁶ Ibid. p. 776.

⁹⁷ Strype's Cranmer, Append. No. xxxi.

finished their work in London. When Cranmer received some copies of this Bible, he said it gave him more joy than if he had received a present of 10,000*l*. The king, by proclamation, A. D. 1537, commanded one of these Bibles, at the equal expence of the incumbent and the parishioners, to be deposited in every parish-church, to be read by all who pleased; and as some towns and parishes did not obey this first proclamation, it was enforced in a second, with severe penalties⁹⁸. At last Cromwell procured permission, A. D. 1539, to all the subjects, to purchase copies of this English Bible for the use of themselves and their families⁹⁹. By such slow steps, the people of England obtained the inestimable privilege of perusing the word of God in their own language, which had been long denied them. This privilege was not obtained without much difficulty and opposition from the popish party.

Besides this translation of the Bible, some other books were published about this time, by the king's authority, for the instruction of his subjects; as the King's Primer, A. D. 1535, which was a collection of twenty-nine small tracts, consisting of explanations of the creed, the Lord's prayer, the ten commandments, and several psalms and prayers for different occasions; the Bishops' Book, A. D. 1537, or the godly and pious institution of a Christian Man, which was drawn up by a committee of

Other
books.

⁹⁸ Wilkin. p. 256.

⁹⁹ Strype's Cranmer, ch. 17. Append. No. xxv.

bishops,

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bishops, and revised and corrected by the king ¹⁰⁰. Though these books contained too many of the peculiar tenets and superstitious ceremonies of the church of Rome, they contributed not a little to diffuse a spirit of inquiry among the people, and thereby promoted the reformation. The Bishops' Book, or the Institution of a Christian Man, was subscribed by the two archbishops and nineteen bishops, and confirmed by an act of parliament. The publication of the English Bible, and of these books, gave great joy to the friends of the reformation.

Images
removed.

The images and relics of saints had long been the chief objects of the superstitious veneration of the people of England, and of all the other nations of Europe in communion with the church of Rome. This kind of devotion was very much encouraged by the clergy, especially by the monastics, who had the custody of those images and relics, and were enriched by the offerings of their deluded worshippers. To increase their gains, they published accounts of miraculous cures pretended to be wrought by certain images, and were guilty of many other deceits and impositions. Some of these were discovered and exposed at the dissolution of the monasteries, which gave a check to that species of superstition ¹⁰¹. But many images and relics still

¹⁰⁰ Strype's Mem. ch. 31. Cranmer, ch. 13.

¹⁰¹ A crucifix at Boxley in Kent, which moved its head, arms, and legs, by springs and wheels concealed in the body of it, was managed by a priest. The blood of Christ at Hales in Gloucestershire, as it was pretended, was discovered to be the blood of a duck renewed weekly. Burnet, p. 242.

remained in cathedrals and other churches, that were the objects of popular veneration, and attracted crowds of pilgrims. The king therefore sent instructions to all the bishops, A. D. 1538, directing them to command their clergy to teach the people in their sermons, “not to repose their trust” and affiance on works devised by men’s fantasies, “as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers, to feigned relics or images, or kissing or licking the same, or such like superstition.” They were further instructed, that if they knew of any such feigned images in any of their dioceses, that were abused with pilgrimages or offerings, to take them down without delay, for avoiding that most detestable offence of idolatry ¹⁰². Besides these general instructions, particular injunctions were given for pulling down some of the richest and most frequented shrines, as that of St. Richard at Colchester, and of St. Thomas Becket at Canterbury ¹⁰³. But as Becket had long been esteemed the greatest of saints, attracted the greatest crowds of pilgrims, and received the most valuable of offerings, he was treated with greater ceremony. He was solemnly tried before the king in council, and found to be neither a saint, nor a martyr. Not a saint, because he had rebelled against his sovereign; not a martyr, because he had fallen in a fray, in which he was the aggressor. He was therefore condemned as a traitor, all the rich ornaments of his altar and shrine confiscated, his festival abolished, and all his images thrown down ¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰² Fox, p. 102.¹⁰³ Wilkin. p. 840.¹⁰⁴ Ibid. p. 835. 847.

Thus

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Thus far had the reformation of the church of England proceeded before the meeting of the parliament in April 1539, when an effectual stop was put to its further progress, though much remained to be reformed. As the changes that had been made were chiefly owing to the influence of archbishop Cranmer and lord Cromwell with the king, so the stop that was now put to any further changes was partly owing to the decline of that influence, and partly to the insinuating arts and persuasions of the popish party. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, represented to the king, that the emperor and the kings of France and Scotland, at the instigation of the pope, were meditating an invasion of his dominions; that many of his own subjects were so much offended with the late innovations in religion, and so much disquieted by their fears of greater innovations, that they were ripe for rebellion; and that the only way to avert all these dangers, would be to convince the world by some signal act, that though he had withdrawn from the obedience of the pope, he had not renounced the catholic faith. Some of the reformers also contributed not a little to alienate the king's mind from them, by declaiming with too much vehemence against certain doctrines of the church of Rome, to which he was still attached.

Influenced by these, and perhaps by other motives with which we are unacquainted, Henry resolved to proceed no farther in the road of reformation, and to secure the remaining tenets and

ceremonies of the church of Rome by a law, with the most intimidating sanctions.

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The parliament met April 28th, and the lord chancellor Audley May 5th presented the following message from the king to the house of peers:

Parliament.

“ That it was his majesty’s desire above all things, “ that the diversities of opinions concerning the “ christian religion, in his kingdom, should be “ with all possible expedition plucked up and ex- “ tirpated: and therefore since this affair was of “ so extraordinary a nature, that it could not well “ be determined in a short time, considering their “ various sentiments, by the whole house, the king “ thought it necessary, if it seemed good unto “ them, that they should chuse a committee of “ themselves to examine into these different opi- “ nions; and whatever they decreed concerning “ them, might be with all convenient speed, com- “ municated to the whole parliament.” The house complied with this message, and chose a committee of ten members, five of the old and five of the new learning, which was thought to be most equitable¹⁰⁵. But it did not contribute to expedition: for after eleven meetings and many warm debates, they could agree upon nothing; nor was there any probability that they ever would agree, which made it necessary to adopt some other method.

The duke of Norfolk, who was at the head of the popish party, and in high favour with the king, acquainted the peers May 16th, that their committee could come to no agreement. He there

¹⁰⁵ Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 140.

laid before the house the six following articles, to be examined by the whole parliament; and that their determination upon them should be formed into a law, to which all the subjects should be compelled to conform by certain penalties:

1. Whether the sacrament of the altar be the real body of our Lord, without transubstantiation, or not¹⁰⁶?

2. Whether that sacrament should be given to the laity in both kinds, or not?

3. Whether vows of chastity made by men or women ought to be observed by the law of God, or not?

4. Whether private masses ought to be retained by the law of God, or not?

5. Whether priests may marry by the law of God, or not?

6. Whether auricular confession to a priest be necessary by the law of God, or not?

These were the questions that were the great subjects of those violent disputes between the friends and enemies of the reformation, that disturbed the peace of the kingdom; and it was to put an end to these disputes, by giving victory to the one party, and imposing silence on the other, that a parliamentary decision of them was now required. The popish party possessed decisive advantages in the discussion of these questions in this parliament. The king ardently desired them to be determined in favour of that party, and his influence was irre-

¹⁰⁶ Provided the corporal presence was acknowledged, the popish party was willing to give up this word.

listible. The parliamentary abbots had not yet resigned their seals, and twenty of them were actually present in the house of peers¹⁰⁷. The other party, however, did not tamely yield the victory; but having scripture, reason, and the most ancient fathers on their side, they supported their opinions with great spirit, and protracted their proceedings to a great length. Archbishop Cranmer, it is said, maintained the tenets of the reformers no less than three days, with such dignity, eloquence, and learning, as compelled the admiration of his greatest enemies¹⁰⁸. Numbers at length prevailed. All the six questions were determined in conformity to the doctrines of the church of Rome; and the lord chancellor reported to the house May 30th, “that it was his majesty’s pleasure, that some penal statute should be enacted, to compel all his subjects, who were any way dissenters or contradi-
 “ dictors of these articles, to obey them.” The house appointed the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Ely and St. Asaph, with doctor Petre, a master in chancery, to prepare one bill; and the archbishop of York, the bishops of Durham and Winchester, with doctor Trigg, also a master in chancery, to prepare another. Both bills were communicated to the king on Sunday June 1st, and he preferred that prepared by the archbishop of York and his committee, who were all zealous for the old learning; and there is good evidence, that a great part of that bill was drawn by the king him-

¹⁰⁷ Dugdale’s Summons to Parl. p. 501.¹⁰⁸ Herbert, p. 219.

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self¹⁰⁹. To make it pass more easily, the lord Cromwell, by the king's direction, laid the above six questions before the lower house of convocation June 2d, and obtained answers to them agreeable to the tenets of the church of Rome, expressed in very strong terms; to convince parliament, that these were the sentiments of the clergy¹¹⁰. At last this famous bill was brought into the house of peers June 7th, and passed June 10th; on which day the king sent a message to archbishop Cranmer, desiring him not to come to the house, since he could not give his assent. But he returned for an answer, that he thought it his duty to attend, and declare his dissent¹¹¹. A very bold answer, considering to whom it was made. This bill passed the house of commons on June 16th, and received the royal assent on the 28th, the last day of the session.

Act of the
six articles.

By this act, commonly called the bloody act, if any person by word, writing, printing, or any other way, denied or disputed the real presence of the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived by the Virgin Mary, in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, under the form of bread and wine; or that in the flesh under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ; or that with the blood under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, he was to be adjudged an heretic, and to suffer death by burning; and all his lands, goods, and chattels, were to be forfeited to the king, as in the case of high treason. If any affirmed or taught that communion in both

¹⁰⁹ Wilkin. p. 848.¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 845.¹¹¹ Fox. p. 1037.

kinds was necessary; or that priests might marry; or that vows of chastity were not perpetually binding; or that private masses were not lawful and laudable; or that auricular confession to a priest was not necessary; they were to suffer death as felons¹¹². Commissioners were appointed in every county to discover and apprehend all offenders against any part of this act, that none who were guilty might escape.

The atrocious cruelty of this act is too obvious to need any illustration. Could any thing be more barbarous than to consign to the flames all who had the courage and honesty to acknowledge, that they could not renounce their reason, and disbelieve the united testimony of all their senses? To condemn the clergy to celibacy, was sufficiently cruel; but to punish a person with death for saying so, was the extreme of cruelty. But cruel as this act was, nothing could exceed the joy and exultation of the popish party on its passing, except the terror and dejection of the friends of the reformation. A member of the house of peers wrote thus in a letter still extant: "And also news here, I assure you never prince shewed himself so wise a man, so well learned, and so catholic, as the king hath done in this parliament. With my pen I cannot express his marvellous goodness, which is come to such effect, that we shall have an act of parliament so spiritual, that I think none shall dare to say, in the blessed sacrament of the altar doth remain either bread or wine after the consecration;

Cruelty of
that act.

¹¹² Statutes, 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 14.

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“ nor that a priest may have a wife; nor that it is
 “ necessary to receive our Maker in both kinds;
 “ nor that private masses should not be said as they
 “ have been; nor that it is not necessary to have
 “ auricular confession. Finally, all in England
 “ have cause to thank God, and most heartily to re-
 “ joice of the king’s most godly proceedings¹¹³.”
 On the other hand, many of the reformers fled to
 the continent to save their lives. Shaxton bishop
 of Salisbury, and Latimer bishop of Worcester, re-
 signed their sees and retired to a private station¹¹⁴.
 Archbishop Cranmer was greatly dejected, and sent
 away his wife to her friends in Germany. The
 king, however, had still so great a regard for him,
 that he sent the duke of Norfolk and lord Crom-
 well to dine with him, and to assure him of his un-
 changeable esteem and favour¹¹⁵.

Too cruel
 to be exe-
 cuted.

The king and the friends of Rome overacted
 their part on this occasion, by making this act so
 sanguinary that it could not be executed without
 rendering the kingdom a scene of unexampled hor-
 ror and bloodshed. This soon appeared. The
 commissioners appointed to put it in execution in
 London, in fourteen days committed and indicted
 no fewer than five hundred persons; among whom
 were Shaxton and Latimer, and all the reforming
 preachers. The lord chancellor Audley waited
 upon the king, and represented the fatal effects of
 these violent proceedings in such strong colours,
 that Henry relented, and commanded the prisoners

¹¹³ Strype’s Cranmer, Append. No. xxvi.

¹¹⁴ Rym. p. 641. 643.

¹¹⁵ Strype’s Cranmer, ch. 19.

to be liberated¹¹⁶. This gave a check to the too forward zeal of the commissioners in London, and in other parts of the kingdom; and while the lord Cromwell retained his office of the execution of this terrible act, it was in a manner suspended. Melancthon, one of the most learned and moderate of the German reformers, who was much respected by the king, wrote him a long and pathetic letter, expostulating with him on the severity of this law, exposing the artifices of Gardiner its chief promoter, and conjuring him to pursue milder measures, as more consistent with the spirit christianity. "O impudent and wicked Winchester! (said he,) who, under these colourable fetches, thinketh to deceive the eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in the world. These things have I written that you may understand the crafty flights, and so judge of the purpose and policy of these bishops¹¹⁷." This letter, it is probable, made some impression on the king's mind. However that may be, the storm did not fall so suddenly on the reformers as they dreaded, and their enemies desired, though it afterwards fell very heavy.

As the greater monasteries were surrendered in this and the following year, and a great mass of wealth in lands, money, and goods, had already come into the king's hands, it was now thought to be time to perform some of the pompous promises that had been made to procure the dissolution of the religious houses. The lord Cromwell brought

New
bishop-
rics.

¹¹⁶ Hall, f. 234.

¹¹⁷ Fox, p. 1079.

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a bill into the house of peers May 23d, to empower the king to erect new bishoprics, deanries, and colleges, by letters patent, and endow them out of the revenues of the suppressed monasteries. This bill was so universally acceptable that it passed that house the same day; and was sent to the commons, by whom it was passed with the same alacrity. A draught of the preamble of this bill, written in the king's own hand, is still extant; to which is annexed, in the same hand, a scheme of eighteen new bishoprics, as many deanries, and several colleges, the places where they were to be seated, and the monasteries out of which they were to be endowed¹¹⁸. This is a proof that Henry intended great things. But before he proceeded to execute them, he had granted away so many of the lands, and squandered away so much of the money, that he could not perform what he had projected. In virtue of the above act, he erected only six new bishoprics, at the following places, viz. Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester. These sees were all founded in the course of the years 1540, 1541, and 1542¹¹⁹. This was one of the greatest advantages the nation derived from the suppression of the religious houses. Before this, several of the dioceses were (and perhaps still are) too extensive,

Parliament.

The parliament, after two prorogations, met again April 12th, A. D. 1540. The king had been long engaged in the irrational and hopeless project

¹¹⁸ Burnet, p. 262. Strype's Mem. Append. No. cvii.¹¹⁹ Rym. tom. xvi. p. 795, &c.

of compelling all his subjects to entertain exactly the same religious opinions, and to change these opinions as often as he changed his own. With this view the cruel act of the six articles had been lately made, to burn or hang all who dissented from the established system. The title of that act was: For abolishing diversity of opinions concerning the christian religion. But with all its terrors it did not accomplish that end. Religious controversies and diversity of opinions still continued. The lord Cromwell, as the king's vicegerent in spirituals, made a long speech to both houses, in which he acquainted them, that the king was grieved at the discord and dissension that prevailed among his subjects in religion; and that he earnestly desired to bring them all to a perfect agreement in their religious principles, and a perfect uniformity in their religious worship. That in order to this, he had appointed one committee of bishops and learned men to prepare a system of the christian doctrines, which all his subjects should be compelled to believe; and another committee to settle the religious rites and ceremonies, which all should be compelled to observe in worship. He told them further, that his majesty, who was a true christian and a most learned divine, would assist both these committees. The parliament unanimously approved of the design, and appointed the committees to meet every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, in the forenoon, and every day, except Sunday, in the afternoon, on that business. The committees laboured with great diligence in this arduous, or rather impracticable

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ticable work, as appears from many of their papers that are still extant ¹²⁰. But as they were composed of an almost equal number of members of the old and new learning, they proceeded very slowly, and could not finish their work in time to be presented to parliament before its dissolution. This was foreseen, and the parliament near the end of the session made a very extraordinary law to oblige all the subjects of the kingdom to believe a system of doctrines that was not yet composed, and to observe a system of ceremonies that was not yet prepared. By this law it was enacted, "That whatsoever was determined by the archbishops and bishops, and other divines now commissioned for that effect; or by any other appointed by the king, and published by the king's authority, concerning the christian faith, or the ceremonies of the church, should be believed and obeyed by all the king's subjects, as well as if the particulars so set forth had been enumerated in this act ¹²¹." This seems to be the utmost bounds to which submission, not to say severity, could be carried.

Persecution.

Thomas lord Cromwell, knight of the garter, lord privy seal, lord chamberlain, and lord vicerent, was created earl of Essex April 14th; and to all these honours and great offices he had been raised from a very humble station by the king's favour. But his fall was as sudden as his rise was great. When he was sitting in council June 10th, not conscious of any guilt, or apprehensive of any

¹²⁰ Strype's Mem. Append. No. lxxxviii. Burnet, book iii. Records. No. xxi.

¹²¹ Burnet, p. 283.

danger,

danger, he was seized and committed to the Tower. He was attainted by an act of parliament for heresy and high treason, without being heard, and beheaded on Tower-hill July 28th. The friends of the reformation soon found that they had sustained a mighty loss by the fall of this great man; for he was hardly laid in his grave, when three of the most learned and zealous preachers of the new learning, doctor Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Hierome, were burnt July 30th in Smithfield for heresy, on the act of the six articles¹²². Three papists, Powel, Fatherstone, and Abell, who had been found guilty of treason for denying the king's supremacy, were hanged, drawn, and quartered, at the same time and place; which made a foreigner, who was a spectator of this horrid scene, cry out, "Good God! how unhappy are the people of this country, who are hanged for being papists, or burnt for being enemies to popery¹²³."

Doctor Edmund Bonar had been a most active agent for the king in his contest with the court of Rome, and a zealous advocate for his supremacy, which recommended him to Cromwell and Cranmer; and by their influence he was promoted to the see of Hereford, and soon after translated to that of London. But they were deceived by appearances, and knew not his real character. He was a bold, ambitious, unprincipled, and cruel man. Perceiving that the popish party prevailed at court, and being placed at the head of the commissioners for executing the act of the six articles in London,

¹²² Fox, p. 1095.¹²³ Ibid. p. 1096.

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he acted with great violence and cruelty in that capacity. Of his cruelty at this time, we shall only give one example, as too many of the same kind will afterwards occur. One Richard Mekins, a young man, or rather a boy, not above fifteen years of age, had been heard to say, that the sacrament was only a ceremony, or a signification. For this he was imprisoned and brought to trial. Bonar, in his charge to the grand jury, exhorted them to have no mercy on heretics of any age or condition. Two witnesses were produced; the one declared that he heard the prisoner say, that the sacrament was only a ceremony: and the other, that he heard him say, that it was only a signification. The jury gave in their verdict, that they found nothing. On this Bonar stormed, and sent them back to reconsider the matter. They gave the same verdict a second time, which threw the bishop into a violent rage, and made him pour out a torrent of threats and curses. The jury being asked, on what they founded their verdict; answered, On the inconsistency of the evidence. Being told by the recorder, that as the court sustained the evidence of these witnesses, that was a sufficient reason for them to sustain it; they found the bill, and the petty jury found the prisoner guilty of speaking against the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. This unhappy youth was quite illiterate, and professed his willingness to believe any thing they pleased to dictate, to save his life; but in vain. He was committed to the flames, and reduced to ashes ¹²⁴. A strain of

¹²⁴ Hall, f. 244. Fox, p. 1096.

cruelty

cruelty that is almost incredible, but is too well attested to be doubted. Several others were burnt in different parts of England: and multitudes were imprisoned, and involved in great distress, by the commissioners for executing the act of the six articles.

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From this period Henry became very unsteady and fluctuating in his sentiments and conduct with respect to religion, sometimes forwarding, but more frequently restraining reformation, and even restoring some of the superstitious ceremonies that had been abolished. He renewed, however, this year, 1541, May 6, his injunctions to the clergy, to provide English Bibles of the largest volume, and deposit them in their churches, for the use of their people; his former injunctions on that subject having been generally disobeyed by those who were enemies to reformation¹²⁵. He also republished October 4th, his injunctions for removing out of cathedrals and other churches, all shrines and images to which pilgrimages had been made, and offerings had been presented, with all tables recording pretended miracles, as his former injunctions for that purpose had been very imperfectly executed¹²⁶. But about the same time he published a proclamation, commanding the festivals of several saints which had been abolished, to be restored and observed¹²⁷.

The king unsteady.

He had been prevailed upon, chiefly by the importunities of Cromwell and Cranmer, to appoint an English translation of the Bible to be made, and

English Bible.

¹²⁵ Wilkin. p. 856.¹²⁶ Ibid. p. 857.¹²⁷ Ibid. p. 859.

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a copy of it to be deposited in every church ; and had even permitted private persons to have copies of it in their houses for the use of themselves and their families. This was exceedingly disagreeable to the great body of the clergy, who were enemies to all reformation. They made loud complaints, that the laity abused this privilege, by reading aloud to great crowds in the time of mass, by commenting upon, and disputing about the scriptures, which gave rise to all the new opinions (which they called heresies) that prevailed. They complained also, that the translation was faulty in many places, and calculated to countenance heresy. These complaints at length had their effect. Henry was provoked that any of his subjects dared to entertain opinions different from those he had dictated to them ; and ascribing this to the use of the scriptures in their own language, he determined to set limits to that liberty, or to take it entirely away. A convocation met at St. Paul's in January, A. D. 1542, and archbishop Cranmer declared to both houses, that it was the king's intention that the prelates and clergy should consult together about the unsettled state of religion, and deliberate about the most proper remedies, and correct what they thought stood in need of correction, particularly the English translation of the Old and New Testament. The primate directed the lower house to deliberate on these things, and report the result of their deliberations. In the third session, February 3d, this question was put, Whether the great English Bible should continue to be used in the church or not ?

The

The majority were of opinion, that it could not be continued till it was revised and corrected. In a subsequent session, one committee of bishops and doctors was appointed to revise and correct the English translation of the New Testament, and another that of the Old Testament. The majority of both these committees were against any English translation of the scriptures, and determined not to be in haste to execute their commission. To puzzle the matter, Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was at the head of the popish party, and one of the committee for revising the New Testament, produced a list of one hundred Latin and Greek words which he pretended had a peculiar majesty and significancy in them, which could not be preserved in English, and therefore proposed that they should be retained in the translation. This absurd proposal was evidently designed to render the translation almost useless. The archbishop, perceiving the refractory temper of the clergy, obtained a mandate from the king to the convocation, commanding them to refer the revival of the English Bible to the two universities, which they reluctantly obeyed¹²⁴.

The popish party, under the influence of the duke of Norfolk and the bishop of Winchester, still prevailing at court, the reformation rather declined than advanced. An act very unfavourable to it was made in the next session of parliament, that began January 22d, A. D. 1543. By that act the liberty of reading the English Bibles in the churches

¹²⁴ Wilkin. p. 861.

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was taken away, and they were removed. None under the rank of gentlemen were to have English Bibles in their possession, or to read them in private; and the subjects were commanded to regulate their faith and practice by the injunctions published, and to be published, by the king. The penalties by which that act was enforced, breathed that barbarous spirit with which the supporters of popery were then animated. For the first offence, they were to recant; for the second, to bear a faggot; and for the third, they were to be burnt¹²⁹.

The
King's
Book.

Henry having thus deprived his subjects of the use of the scriptures in their own language, made haste to furnish them with that perfect system of the christian doctrines that he had promised. The committee of bishops and doctors appointed to prepare that system had applied to it with great diligence for a considerable time, and it was published May 29th, A. D. 1543, with this title: "A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man, set forth by the King's Majesty." It had a preface written by the king, or at least in his name, commending it highly, and exhorting and commanding all his subjects to study it diligently, and to make it the rule of their faith and manners, to put an end to all diversity of opinions in religion. The following paragraph in the preface to this once famous book, designed to supply the place of the Bible, gives a very distinct account of its method and contents: "For knowledge of the order of the matter in this book contained.

¹²⁹ Statutes, 34 Henry VIII. cap. 1.

" Forasmuch

“ Forasmuch as we know not perfectly God, but
 “ by faith, the declaration of faith occupieth in
 “ this treatise the first place. Whereunto is next
 “ adjoining, the declaration of the articles of our
 “ creed, concerning what we should believe. And
 “ incontinently after them followeth the explica-
 “ tion of the seven sacraments. Then followeth
 “ conveniently the declaration of the ten com-
 “ mandments, being by God ordained the highway
 “ wherein each man should walk in this life; to
 “ finish fruitly his journey here, and afterwards to
 “ rest eternally in joy with him; which because we
 “ cannot do of ourselves, but have need always of
 “ the grace of God, as without whom we can
 “ neither continue in this life, nor without his
 “ special grace do any thing to his pleasure, where-
 “ by to attain the life to come, we have, after the
 “ declaration of the ten commandments, expound-
 “ ed the seven petitions of our Pater Noster,
 “ wherein be contained requests and suits for all
 “ things necessary to a christian man in this pre-
 “ sent life; with declaration of the Ave Maria, as
 “ a prayer containing a joyful rehearſal and mag-
 “ nifying God in the work of the incarnation of
 “ Christ, which is the ground of our ſalvation,
 “ wherein the bleſſed Virgin our Lady, for the
 “ abundance of grace wherewith God endowed her,
 “ is alſo with this remembrance honoured and
 “ worſhipped. And forasmuch as the heads and
 “ ſenſes of our people have been imbued, and in
 “ theſe days travailed with the underſtanding of
 “ free will, juſtification, good works, and praying

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“ for souls departed ; we have, by the advice of
 “ our clergy, for the purgation of erroneous doc-
 “ trines, declared and set forth openly, and with-
 “ out ambiguity of speech, the mere and certain
 “ truth in them ; so as we verily trust, that to know
 “ God, and how to live after his pleasure, to the
 “ attaining everlasting life in the end, this book
 “ containeth a perfect and sufficient doctrine,
 “ grounded and established in holy scripture.”
 Such were the contents of this royal publication,
 the established standard of truth and orthodoxy, by
 which all the people of England were to regulate
 their faith and practice, till the king thought proper
 to change his opinion ; and then all his subjects
 were bound, by an act of parliament, to make a
 similar change in their opinions. It is difficult to
 conceive how tyranny in the king, and servility in
 the parliament, could be carried further.

The
 King's
 Primer.

Henry laboured this point of uniformity with
 uncommon ardour, and seems to have determined
 that none of his subjects should think, speak, or act,
 in public or in private, in matters of religion, but
 as he directed them. Not contented with dictat-
 ing a system of doctrines which they were to
 believe, and of the ceremonies they were to prac-
 tise in the church, he published a manual of prayers,
 which he strictly commanded all his subject to use
 in their private devotions, prohibiting the use of any
 other prayers in their closets. This was called the
 King's Primer Book ; and in his preface to it, he
 acquaints his loving subjects, “ That forasmuch as

¹⁵⁰ Strype's Mem. p. 379.

“ we

“ we have bestowed right great labour and diligence, about settling a perfect stay in the other parts of our religion, we have thought good to bestow our earnest labour in this part also, being a thing as fruitful as the best, that men may know both what they pray, and also with what words, lest things special good and principal, being inwrapped in ignorance of the words, should not perfectly come to the mind and to the intelligence of men; or else things being nothing to the purpose, nor very meet to be offered unto God, should have the less effect with God, being the distributor of all gifts ¹³¹.” In a word, Henry was determined to reduce all his subjects to a most correct and perfect uniformity in all things, even the most trivial, that related to religion. Some of them, for example, kept St. Mark’s day as a fast, and others of them kept it as a feast. He was much offended at this, and published a royal injunction to all his loving subjects, to eat flesh on St. Mark’s day ¹³². This was not one of his most disagreeable injunctions.

After the fall of Cromwell earl of Essex, archbishop Cranmer was in a dangerous situation, and had a difficult part to act. As he knew the animosity of the popish party against him, and their great influence at court, he was not ignorant of his danger, and endeavoured to guard against it, by acting with the greatest caution, and by living as privately as his station would permit. But all his caution and privacy would not have preserved him, if the

Cranmer
in danger.

¹³¹ Wilkin. p. 873.

¹³² Ibid. p. 860.

ant. XVI.

king had not entertained such a strong conviction of his integrity, and so grateful a sense of his services, as could not be shaken by all the efforts of his enemies. Of this it may not be improper to give one example. After several plots, equally artful and iniquitous against the archbishop, had miscarried, the duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and the other popish members of the privy council, waited upon the king, and made a heavy complaint against the archbishop, " That he
" and his learned men had so infected the whole
" realm with their unfavoury doctrine, that three
" parts of the land were become abominable heretics; therefore they desired that the archbishop
" might be committed to the Tower until this
" might be examined." When the king seemed unwilling to grant their desire, they represented, " That the archbishop being one of the privy
" council, no man dared to object matter against
" him, unless he were first committed to durance;
" which being done, men would be bold to tell the
" truth, and say their consciences. The king at
" length consented that they might bring the archbishop before the council next morning, and
" examine him; and if they found cause, they
" might commit him to the Tower." Henry, probably repenting of what he had done, sent a messenger to the archbishop about midnight, desiring him to come and speak with him immediately. On his arriving, the king told him of the complaint that had been made, and the consent that he had given, and asked him, " What say you,

“ my lord ; have I done well or ill ? ” The prime humbly thanked the king for giving him this warning, and declared he was content to be committed to the Tower for the trial of his doctrine, if he might have a fair trial, and hoped that his majesty would take care to have him fairly tried. “ O Lord God ! (cried the king ;) what fond simplicity have you to permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you ? Do you not know, that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you, and condemn you ? No, not so, my lord ; I have a better regard to you than to suffer your enemies to overthrow you. Appear before the council ; require them to produce your accusers ; and if they refuse, shew them this ring, (giving him a ring,) which they well know that I use for no other purpose, but to call matters from the council into mine own hands.” He was sent for by the council early next morning ; and when he arrived, he was not admitted into the council chamber, but obliged to stand about an hour in the anti-chamber among servants. The king being informed of this by the physician, doctor Bulls, was much offended. “ Have they served my lord so ? (said he.) It is well enough ; I shall talk with them by and by.” When the archbishop was called in to the council, he was told, that complaints had been exhibited to the king and them, that he, and others by his permission, had infected the whole realm with heresy, and that it

1
11. XVI. } was the king's pleasure that he should be committed to the Tower in order to his trial. When Cranmer had required to see his accusers face to face before he was committed, and was refused, he said, "I am sorry, my lords, that you have compelled me to appeal from you to the king, who by this token (presenting the ring) hath taken this matter into his own hands." This put a stop to their career. They waited in a body on the king to restore his ring, and resign the cause into his hands. He received them with a stern countenance, reproved them severely for their contemptuous treatment of the archbishop, and then added, "I would you should well understand, that I account my lord of Canterbury as faithful a man towards me, as ever was prelate in this realm, and one to whom I am many ways beholden by the faith I owe unto God; (laying his hand on his heart;) and whoever loveth me, will regard him on that account." This gave such a check to Cranmer's enemies, that they made no more attempts against him during this reign ¹³³.

Prayers in English.

This striking proof of the steadiness of the king's friendship encouraged Cranmer to attempt the reformation of some of the many absurd superstitions that still remained. He proceeded, however, with great prudence and caution, and never attempted any change till he had first convinced the king of its propriety, and obtained his permission and command. He had long wished to see the prayers of the church in English, that the people might pray

¹³³ Strype's Cranmer, ch. 28.

to God in language they understood, and might know for what they prayed. The king was preparing to invade France in person, A. D. 1544, and prayers and processions were to be made as usual for his success; and the archbishop embraced this opportunity to convince him, that the people would join in these prayers with much greater fervency if they were in English, than they could do if they were in an unknown tongue. By the king's permission, he composed a number of prayers in English, which he delivered to his majesty for his perusal, who, having approved of them, sent them back to the primate, commanding him to cause them to be used in all the churches of his diocese, and to send copies of them to all the bishops of his province with a similar command. This royal injunction was probably composed by Cranmer, and is couched in very strong expressive language. One reason assigned for this great innovation, of praying in their native tongue, is thus expressed: "That the people might feel the godly taste thereof, and godly and joyously with thanks receive, embrace, and frequent the same." This injunction was dated June 11th. About two months after, when the navy was ready to sail, the council sent a similar injunction to the archbishop, commanding him to order prayers and processions twice a week in all the churches of his province for success and victory to his majesty's arms, and that the prayers should be in English¹³⁴. These injunctions gave great joy to the friends of the reformation, who

¹³⁴ Strype's Cranmer, ch. 29.

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Ceremo-
nies abo-
lished.

began to hope, that they would soon see the whole service of the church in English.

The king was prevailed upon at the same time to abolish some of the superstitious ceremonies which still remained; such as watching and ringing bells all night on the vigil of All-hallows; that the images in churches, and the cross, should not be covered with vails in the time of Lent, as they had been formerly: that none should kneel or creep to the cross on Palm Sunday, or any other time. The royal injunction for abolishing these ceremonies was procured by the application of the archbishop, with the bishops of Worcester and Chichester, and the execution of it, as usual, was committed to the archbishop¹³³.

Cranmer had for some time been engaged in another work for promoting the reformation and settlement of the church. This was the revision of the canon law, or rather forming a new code of ecclesiastical laws, for the government of the church of England. The canon law had long been esteemed almost of divine authority, and far more excellent and obligatory than any other human laws. In that law, the authority and power of the pope was carried to a most extravagant and impious height; and the laws of kings and princes, that were contrary to the decrees and canons of the bishop of Rome, were of no force. After the abrogation, therefore, of the papal power, and the many other changes that had been made contrary to the canons, the authority of the canon law could not be acknow-

¹³³ Strype's Cranmer, p. 134.

ledged

ledged in England; and it was not proper that the church should remain long without a system of laws suited to her circumstances. Accordingly the king gave a commission to thirty-two persons, (A. D. 1543,) sixteen of the spirituality, and sixteen of the temporality, to examine all canons, constitutions, and ordinances; and to establish all such laws ecclesiastical as shall by the king and them be thought convenient to be used in all spiritual courts; and this commission was confirmed by parliament¹³⁶. This work was not finished till A. D. 1545, when it was presented to the king for his confirmation. But he either refused or neglected to confirm it; and this system of laws was not established till the succeeding reign. Various reasons have been assigned for this; but they are only conjectures.

No further progress was made in the reformation of the church in the short remainder of this reign. On the contrary, the persecutions on the cruel act of the six articles were renewed, and several persons were burnt, A. D. 1546, for denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament. The most remarkable of these sufferers was Mrs. Anne Askew, a lady of an opulent and ancient family in Lincolnshire, and, which was much more to her honour, of very uncommon ingenuity, learning, piety, and virtue. She was unhappily married to a Mr. Kyme, against her own inclination, by her father's authority. Her husband, who was a zealous papist, treated her so ill, that she was obliged to leave his house, and went to London. Having expressed

Persecution.

¹³⁶ Statutes, 43 Hen. VIII. cap. 15.

her

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her disbelief of the corporal presence, she was apprehended, imprisoned, and examined by the council. At her examination she answered many questions with such acuteness, as surprised her persecutors. Sir Martin Bowes, lord Mayor of London, thus addressed her: "Foolish woman, sayest thou that the priests cannot make the body of Christ?"—"I have read," said she, "that God made man, but I never read that man made God."—"If a mouse," asked his lordship, "eat the bread after it was consecrated, what shall become of the mouse? What sayest thou, foolish woman?"—"What shall become of her say you, my lord?"—"I say," replied he, "that that mouse is damned."—"Alas!" said she, "Alas, poor mouse!" His lordship did not think fit to ask her any more questions. She was tried by the commissioners for executing the act of the six articles, found guilty, and condemned to the flames. After her condemnation it was discovered that she had conversed with the duchess of Suffolk, the countess of Hertford, and some other ladies, who were suspected of favouring the reformation, and against whom they wished for evidence. She was therefore removed from Newgate to the tower, and there interrogated concerning these ladies, but would discover nothing. She was then laid on the rack and tortured, in the presence, and, as it is said, by the hands of the chancellor, lord Wriothesley, with so much severity, that it deprived her of the use of her limbs, but extorted no discovery. She was carried to Smithfield and placed at the stake in a chair,
and

and there reduced to ashes. She suffered with amazing cheerfulness; and one who was present at her execution says, she had an angel's countenance and a smiling face. John Laffels, a gentleman of a good family and fortune, who had a place at court; Nicholas Bellenian a priest, and John Adams a tailor, were burnt at the same place and-time. The imaginary crime for which all these persons suffered this cruel death, was denying the corporal presence of Christ in the sacrament of the altar; a doctrine for which Henry continued to be a flaming zealot to his last moments, which were now approaching. He died January 6th, A. D. 1547.¹³⁷

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The reformation of the church of England hath no concern with the personal character of this prince, or the motives of his conduct. It must stand or fall by its own merits. It was left by Henry in a very imperfect state, but was happily carried much farther in the short reign of his amiable and virtuous son Edward VI.

CHAP. II. SECT. III.

The Ecclesiastical History of Scotland from the Accession of James IV. A. D. 1488, to the Death of James V. A. D. 1542.

THE ecclesiastical history of Scotland in the reign of James IV. contains very few events that merit a place in history, or at least very few such events have come to our knowledge. The

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¹³⁷ Strype's Mem. vol. i. ch. 31. Burnet, p. 241.

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truth is, that materials for a complete history of the church of Scotland before the reformation, either do not exist, or are so scattered and secreted that it is impossible to collect them. Nor have we much reason to regret this. The history of this church in those benighted times, when ignorance, credulity, and superstition, with an abject submission to the imperious dictates of the bishop of Rome, prevailed, could afford us but little rational instruction or entertainment. It will not be necessary, therefore, to divide this period into two sections, as the whole may be comprehended within moderate limits.

Shevez primate.

William Shevez was archbishop of St. Andrew's and primate of Scotland at the accession of James IV. He appears to have acted a very bad part in the prosecution of his predecessor Patrick Graham, who had the merit to procure the erection of his see into an archbishopric, and thereby put an end to the pretensions of the archbishops of York to the primacy of the church of Scotland, which had been very troublesome. As the arts by which Shevez obtained his promotion were not very honourable, so we hear of no good that he did after he had obtained it. His pride engaged him in a violent contest with Walter Blackater, the first archbishop of Glasgow, by his refusing to acknowledge him in that character. This contest, after having disturbed the peace of the country for some time, was at length compromised. Glasgow was acknowledged to be an archbishopric; the bishoprics of Galloway, Argyle, and the isles, assigned

signed for its province, and the primacy reserved to St. Andrew's. Archbishop Shevez died, and was buried at St. Andrew's, A. D. 1496 ¹³⁸.

The opinions of Wickliff were early introduced into Scotland, and in some places they took deep root and continued long. To eradicate these noxious weeds, (as they were then esteemed,) archbishop Blackater held a provincial synod at Glasgow, A. D. 1494, at which the king and council were present. Before this synod, George Campbell of Cefnock, Adam Read of Barskining, John Campbell of Newmills, Andrew Shaw of Polkemac, Helen Chambers, lady Pokelly, Isabel Chalmers, lady Stairs, with about twenty others of inferior rank, in the counties of Kyle and Cunningham, were arraigned for heresy. The heresies of which these persons, who were commonly called the Lollards of Kyle, were accused, were the same with the doctrines of Wickliff, and nearly the same with those of all the protestant churches, intermixed with a few absurd opinions, which they had rashly adopted, or which were falsely imputed to them by their enemies. Adam Read made a bold and spirited defence for himself and the others accused, which exposed the malice and ignorance of their accusers, and rendered them equally odious and ridiculous. This, however, would not have saved them, if the king, who had a friendship for some of the gentlemen, had not interposed, and put a stop to the prosecution ¹³⁹. It is much to the honour of James IV. that he was an enemy to perfe-

¹³⁸ Spottiswood, p. 60, 61.

¹³⁹ Knox, p. 2, &c.

cution,

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Archbishops of St. Andrew's;

cution, and that not so much as one person suffered for his religious opinions in his reign¹⁴⁰.

Archbishop Shevez was succeeded in the see of St. Andrew's by the king's brother, James Stewart, duke of Ross, marquis of Ormond, earl of Ardmannak, lord of Brechen and Nevers, commendator of Dumfermline, and chancellor of the kingdom. Of this high-born prelate, who was loaded with so many honours, we know nothing, but that he died young, A. D. 1503. He was succeeded in his archbishopric by Alexander Stewart, the king's natural son, a boy of about eight years of age. Though this nomination was contrary to several canons, the pope, for political reasons, confirmed it; for which the king wrote him a letter of thanks, full of the warmest expressions of gratitude; in which, among many other flattering things, he says, "We have often sent our letters to you, most blessed father, but never in vain. It was one strong proof of your paternal affection to me, that soon after your exaltation to the apostleship, you sent me a full remission of all my sins; which was the more valuable, because the salvation of the soul was more precious than all other things. But to that inestimable favour you have now added another, by committing the charge of the famous archbishopric of St. Andrew's to my son, though he is but a child¹⁴¹." This was certainly intended for a compliment, though it was really a reproach. This youthful prelate, the pupil and favourite of Erasmus, fell, with his royal father, in

¹⁴⁰ Calderwood's Hist. MSS. vol. i. p. 41.¹⁴¹ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 3.

the fatal battle of Flodden, in the eighteenth year of his age. Cent. XVI.

Robert Blackater, the first archbishop of Glasgow, died as he was going on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, A. D. 1509, and was succeeded in that see by James Beaton, of the ancient family of the Beaton of Balfour in Fife. This prelate rose rapidly in the church, was deeply engaged in all affairs of the state, and shared in the good and bad fortune of the parties with whom he was connected ¹⁴².

Another prelate flourished in this and the preceding reign, who is well entitled to a place in history, on account of his talents, his virtues, and his services and benefactions to his country. This was William Elphinston bishop of Aberdeen. He was of an opulent mercantile family in Glasgow, and one of the first *eleves* of the university of that city. From thence he went to Paris, where, after he had studied several years, he read lectures on the civil and canon law to crowded audiences with great applause. On his return to his native country he was promoted in the church, and employed in several embassies both by James III. and James IV.; in which he acquitted himself with ability and success. His first bishopric was that of Ross, from whence he was translated to Aberdeen. In this city he founded an university, in which he built, furnished, and endowed the first college. He also built the bridge over the river Dee ¹⁴³. These were great, expensive, and useful works,

¹⁴² See Biograph. Britan. art. James Beaton.

¹⁴³ Spottiswood, p. 105.

from

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from which his country derived great and permanent advantages. He lived admired and beloved for his charity, hospitality, public spirit, and other virtues, to a very advanced age. He was so deeply affected with the deplorable disaster at Flodden, that he never recovered his wonted cheerfulness, and died the year after, A. D. 1514. To embalm the memory of great and good men, the benefactors and ornaments of their country, is the most pleasant and useful province of the historian.

Assembly
of the cler-
gy.

The popes, in the times we are now delineating, considered all the clergy in the Christian world as their immediate subjects, and claimed and exercised the right of taxing them at their pleasure. At this the clergy sometimes murmured and remonstrated, but were compelled to submit and pay these papal taxes. The pope sent a legate, named Bajomanus, into Scotland, A. D. 1512, who held a synod of the clergy, both regular and secular, in the Dominican convent at Edinburgh, and demanded an annual tax of two shillings in the pound on every benefice of forty pounds a year and upwards. To this demand the synod consented, but with much reluctance; and it continued to be levied till the reformation by the name of Bajomanus's tax ¹⁴⁴.

Competi-
tion for
offices.

By the great slaughter of the nobility at Flodden, many of the principal offices, both in church and state, became vacant, and the surviving clergy and nobles, instead of uniting together for the defence of their country, engaged in the most violent com-

¹⁴⁴ Lefly, p. 356.

petitions

petitions for these vacant offices. For the archbishopric of St. Andrew's three powerful competitors appeared; Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, and afterwards bishop of Dunkeld, was nominated by the queen regent, and supported by the Douglasses, who put him in possession of the castle of St. Andrew's¹⁴⁵. John Hepburn, prior of St. Andrew's, was elected by the convent, and supported by the Hepburns, a numerous and powerful clan. By his office of prior he was administrator of the see, and collected the rents of it during the vacancy; and by the assistance of the clergy and people he expelled the servants of his rival, the bishop of Dunkeld, and got possession of the castle of St. Andrew's, in which he placed a garrison. The third competitor was Andrew Foreman, bishop of Moray in Scotland, archbishop of Bourges in France, and commendator of several rich abbies. Foreman was in such high favour with King James IV. that he obtained letters from him under the privy seal, permitting him to solicit the pope for any benefice that became vacant in Scotland, any law to the contrary notwithstanding¹⁴⁶. Of this permission he now availed himself, and solicited so effectually at the court of Rome that the pope Leo X. promoted him to the vacant archbishopric, and to all the abbies the late archbishop had possessed; and also appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. He was then on an embassy at the court of France; but as soon as he had received

¹⁴⁵ Lesly, p. 374.¹⁴⁶ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 110.

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his bulls from Rome he returned to Scotland to prosecute his claims. It appears from an authentic letter of the queen regent to the pope, that she had first nominated that excellent prelate William Elphinston, bishop of Aberdeen to the archbishopric, and that he had consented to accept of it; but his death prevented his promotion¹⁴⁷. In another letter the arrangement that was first intended by the court is thus delineated: "That William bishop of Aberdeen should be translated to St. Andrew's; that George abbot of Holyrood-house should be bishop of Aberdeen; Patrick abbot of Cambuskenneth should be abbot of Holyrood-house; that the abbey of Cambuskenneth should be given *in commendam* to Andrew bishop of Caithness; the abbey of Arbroath to Gavin Douglas; Dumfermlin to James Hepburn: Inchefferay to Alexander Stewart; Glencuce to the bishop of Lismore; and Coldingham to David Hume¹⁴⁸." But this arrangement was disconcerted by the death of the bishop of Aberdeen, and the subsequent contest for the primacy.

Letters to
the pope.

The queen regent and nobility were greatly interested in the disposal of these benefices. This appears from several letters written by them to the pope and cardinals with uncommon warmth. In these letters they put the pope in mind, "that several of his predecessors had granted this privilege to the kings of Scotland by their bulls; that they and their successors would never grant any vacant prelacies in Scotland, till they had

¹⁴⁷ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 184.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid. p. 199.

"waited

“ waited eight months for the royal nomination,
 “ which they would confirm.” They declare in
 the strongest terms, “ that they would not suffer
 “ their infant king to be deprived of that privilege.
 “ They speak of bishop Foreman with great aspe-
 “ rity, as an upstart, and enemy to his king and
 “ country, for which the parliament had justly de-
 “ prived him of all his offices, banished him the
 “ kingdom, and would never suffer him to re-
 “ turn¹⁴⁹.” But the pope paid no regard to all
 this warmth and threatening.

If the learned, virtuous, and amiable Gavin Douglas was ever a competitor for the primacy, as our historians affirm, he soon quitted the field to the other two competitors. When bishop Foreman arrived in Scotland, both the court and the country were so much incensed against him, that he could hardly find any of the nobles willing to espouse his cause and publish his bulls. He was of the family of the Foremans of Hutton in the Merse, who had long been partisans of the Humes. He applied therefore to the lord, then one of the most powerful noblemen in the kingdom, and prevailed on him to publish his bulls at the cross of Edinburgh. This produced a great change in his favour; and many, both of the clergy and laity, who had a high veneration for the authority of the pope, favoured his cause. Things were in this state, when John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland in June, A. D. 1515. He found the nation divided into two parties, and so warmly engaged, that he dreaded a civil war.

Accom-
 modulation.

¹⁴⁹ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 200—211.

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To prevent this, he proposed an accommodation, which he at length accomplished. Bishop Foreman, who was very rich, and fonder of power than of money, made great sacrifices to his rival to resign his pretensions to the primacy. He resigned the bishopric of Moray, the abbies of Arbroath, Drybrough, and Kilwinning, which were divided among Hepburn's friends: he allowed Hepburn to retain all the rents of the archbishopric which he had collected, and gave him a pension, it is said, of three thousand crowns a year¹⁵⁰. To himself he reserved only the archbishopric and the abbey of Dumfermline. The duke of Albany wrote an account of this accommodation to the pope; in which he bestowed the highest praises on archbishop Foreman, for the generous sacrifices he had made to preserve the peace of his country, and earnestly intreated his holiness to make him a cardinal, which Julius II. his predecessor had promised to do, in a letter to James IV.¹⁵¹

The encroachments of the popes of those times on the rights both of private and of royal patrons, were productive of many inconveniencies and quarrels. The contest about the archbishopric was hardly ended, when another of the same kind commenced, on the death of George Brown, bishop of Dunkeld. The chapter chose Andrew Stewart, son to the earl of Athole, and put him in possession of the castles, houses, and lands belonging to the see. But Gavin Douglas, uncle to the earl of Angus, was appointed bishop by the pope. Stewart,

¹⁵⁰ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 217.¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*
supported

supported by his father, kept possession of the lands and castles. The regent interposed, and with much difficulty brought about an accommodation. Douglas resigned two benefices to Stewart, and obtained the bishopric. The duke of Albany gave an account of this transaction to the pope, by a letter dated at Edinburgh September 8th, A. D. 1516; desiring him to ratify the contract of agreement, to prevent all doubts of its validity¹⁵². In all these contests the papal candidate prevailed.

Archbishop Foreman enjoyed the high station for which he had struggled so hard and paid so dear, only about seven years. He was a prelate who possessed very uncommon talents for and dexterity in business, which gained him a high degree of favour with two successive kings of Scotland, James III. and IV.; with two successive popes, Julius II. and Leo X.; and with that wise prince, Lewis XII. of France; who all loaded him with benefices. Julius II. gave him the following character, in a letter to James IV.: "Your ambassador, Andrew bishop of Moray, hath acted, and still continues to act, with so much fidelity, prudence, diligence, and dexterity, that he hath given me the highest satisfaction; and I think him worthy of a more eminent station in the church. For this reason, and to gratify your majesty, I have requested the pope to make him a cardinal at the next nomination of cardinals¹⁵³." The death of the pope prevented his obtaining that dignity. Like his royal master James IV. he was an

¹⁵² *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. i. p. 222.¹⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 138.

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Contest.

enemy to persecution, and none suffered for religion during his incumbency.

Almost every vacancy of the see of St. Andrew's produced a contest between the courts of Scotland and of Rome. The kings of Scotland claimed a right to present to all the vacant prelacies in their dominions within eight months, and that the popes should grant to their presentees the bulls necessary to their instalment. But the popes frequently filled up the vacancies without waiting for the royal presentation. This was a direct violation of the privilege of presenting within eight months, that had been granted and confirmed to the kings of Scotland by many bulls. But the popes were now become so arbitrary, that they broke through every barrier that limited their power. On this occasion two competitors for the primacy took the field: James Beaton archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of the kingdom, presented by the regent; and Gavin Douglas bishop of Dunkeld, who solicited and expected the papal appointment, by the great influence of Henry VIII. at the court of Rome. To counteract that influence great efforts were made. A letter was sent to the pope, in the name of the king, the regent, and the three estates of the kingdom; acquainting him, that Gavin Douglas bishop of Dunkeld had fled to their enemy the king of England; for which they had banished him by an act of parliament, and earnestly intreating his holiness not to listen to any application that might be made for appointing him archbishop of St. An-

St. Andrew's ¹⁵⁴. His rival Beaton, in his capacity of chancellor, wrote a letter in the name of the privy council to Christiern king of Denmark; requesting him to give directions to his ambassador at the court of Rome, to oppose the elevation of the bishop of Dunkeld to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's and abbey of Dumfermline ¹⁵⁵. How this contest would have ended is uncertain; if both competitors had lived to prosecute their claims. But it was terminated by the death of the bishop of Dunkeld: and Beaton was translated from Glasgow to St. Andrew's, A. D. 1523, without any further opposition.

Soon after this, the cruel spirit of persecution, which had been long restrained, revived, and raged with no little violence. The first who fell a sacrifice to this infernal spirit, was Mr. Patrick Hamilton, a youth of noble birth, and nearly related to the royal family, being nephew to the earl of Arran by his father, and to the duke of Albany by his mother. Having early discovered a taste for learning, the abbey of Ferne, and some other benefices, were given him, to enable him to prosecute his studies. With this view he went to the university of Marburg in Germany, where he conversed with Francis Lambert, and became acquainted with the doctrines of Luther, which he cordially embraced, and hastened home to communicate the knowledge of them to his countrymen. On his arrival the warmth of his zeal made him declaim with vehemence against the corruptions and errors of the

Persecution.

¹⁵⁴ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i. p. 328. ¹⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 333.

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church. His eloquence, his youth, and noble birth, attracted crowded audiences, who heard him with admiration, and greedily imbibed his principles. This alarmed the fears, and inflamed the rage of the clergy. Archbishop Beaton invited him to a friendly conference in St. Andrew's. At his arrival there he was committed to the care of a friar Campbell, for his instruction and conversion. He was much an overmatch for his instructor, whose real object was to discover and inform his enemies of his opinions. When this was accomplished, and the young king was sent on a pilgrimage to St. Dulhacks in Ross, they seized Mr. Hamilton in his bed at midnight, and carried him to the castle. Next forenoon, February 28th, A. D. 1527, he was brought before the primate, the archbishop of Glasgow, three other bishops, many abbots, priors, doctors, lawyers, professors of the university, and a prodigious crowd of spectators, in the cathedral, and accused of holding and propagating the damnable heresies of Martin Luther. He did not deny the charge, but defended the doctrines he had taught with many arguments, which served only to render his condemnation more certain. He was accordingly condemned as an obstinate heretic, delivered to the secular magistrate, carried from the bar to the stake, and burnt with circumstances of peculiar cruelty. Thus perished this learned, virtuous, and noble youth, in the twenty-third year of his age. The severity of his sufferings, and the fortitude with which he bore them, excited the pity and admiration of the great body of the spectators; but
bigotry

bigotry and self-interest had so hardened the hearts of many of the clergy, that they applauded this barbarous deed as a most meritorious display of christian zeal. The university of Louvain also wrote a letter to the archbishop of St. Andrew's and his assessors, in which they loaded them with praises for burning so great a heretic; and exhorted them to persevere, till they had extirpated all the heretics in their country¹⁵⁶.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

To such black deeds doth superstition prompt.

The clergy soon found that they had no reason to boast of the good policy, or good effects, of their severity. The propositions for which Mr. Hamilton had been condemned to the flames became public, awakened curiosity, and were examined by many of the clergy and laity, by the youth at the university, and even by the monks in their cells, who had never heard or thought of them before. The general result of this examination was, that they appeared neither so absurd, nor so pernicious, as to merit so severe a punishment, and not a few were fully convinced of their truth, and cordially embraced them. This soon appeared even in the city of St. Andrew's. Friar Alexander Seaton, confessor to the king, preached several sermons in that city in the Lent after Mr. Hamilton's execution. In these sermons he insisted only on the necessity of repentance, faith, and holiness of life, without ever mentioning purgatory, pilgrimages, miracles, worship of saints and images, the

¹⁵⁶ Fox, p. 888.

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usual subjects of the sermons of those times. He also used some expressions which seemed to reflect on the negligence and vices of the clergy. The uncommon strain of these sermons raised a suspicion that he inclined to heresy; and after he had left the city, another friar was set up to preach against his doctrines. When he heard this he returned, and in some other sermons confirmed all he had advanced. He was then brought before the archbishop, who charged him with having said, that bishops ought to preach, and that those who did not preach were dumb dogs. "Your informers, my lord, (said Seaton,) must have been very ignorant persons, who could not distinguish between the apostle Paul, and the prophet Isaiah, and friar Seaton. I said, indeed, that Paul exhorted bishops to preach, and that Isaiah called those who did not preach dumb dogs. But of myself, I said nothing. If that is heresy, Paul and Isaiah are the heretics." The primate was nettled at this smart reply; but he concealed his resentment till he had alienated the king from his confessor, which was not a difficult task. That young prince had been debauched by those who had the charge of his education, and unhappily indulged himself in vague amours; for which his confessor had reproved him sharply. Father Seaton observing a change in the king's manner of receiving him, took the alarm, and made his escape to Berwick. From thence he wrote a long expostulatory letter to the king, in which he offered to return and vindicate his doctrines, if he might have a fair trial before impartial judges.

judges. Having received an answer to this letter, he proceeded to London, where he found an asylum in the family of the duke of Suffolk¹⁵⁷.

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The death of Mr. Hamilton, and the flight of friar Seaton, did not deter others from adopting their opinions, and exposing themselves to the same dangers and sufferings: on the contrary, it so much increased the number and boldness of their followers, that the church history of Scotland in the remainder of this reign consists of little else but the trials and burnings of heretics. To give a minute detail of all those scenes of horror, would be very painful to the writer, and could not be very pleasant to the reader. It may be sufficient therefore to say, that many, both of the clergy and laity, were committed to the flames for heresy; that many others, eminent for their virtue and learning, abandoned their country to avoid the same fate; and that not a few wounded their consciences by recanting their opinions, to preserve their lives¹⁵⁸.

James Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, had paid great attention to the education and promotion of his nephew David Beaton. Besides several benefices which he procured for him while he was still a young man, he resigned the rich abbey of Aberbrothock in his favour; and the pope, at the requisition of the king, confirmed the transaction¹⁵⁹. He was a great favourite of the duke of Albany during his regency, and afterwards a greater favourite of the young king, who appointed him

Cardinal
Beaton.

¹⁵⁷ Spottiswood, p. 65.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid. Knox, p. 16, &c.

¹⁵⁹ Epistolæ Scotorum, p. 339.

lord

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lord privy seal A. D. 1528, from which time he was his chief confident and prime minister. He was sent upon several embassies to the court of France, where he negotiated both the kings marriages, and ingratiated himself so much with Francis, that he granted him some singular favours, and among others the rich bishopric of Merempoix. His uncle becoming infirm in his old age, he appointed him his co-adjutor, and devolved upon him all his power; the pope created him a cardinal December 20th, A. D. 1539. The old archbishop died A. D. 1539, and disposed of all his benefices by his testament, and particularly of his archbishopric, to his nephew and co-adjutor. This destination in other circumstances would have been disregarded; but being perfectly agreeable both to the king and the pope, it was confirmed¹⁶⁰. Such was the rise of this aspiring prelate to a power almost unlimited, which he employed to the most pernicious purposes.

Persecu-
tion.

The pope had fixed his eyes on the younger Beaton some time before this, as a proper instrument to crush all heretics and heresies in Scotland, and with that view had favoured his promotion. A more proper instrument could not have been chosen for such a work. His uncle, the late primate, had been a cruel persecutor; but it was suspected that he felt some little reluctance to that horrid business. But the cardinal was liable to no such weakness. He was a cool, deliberate, unrelenting tyrant, who took a pride and pleasure in the most atrocious

¹⁶⁰ See Biograph. Britan. art. D. Beaton.

acts of cruelty. To render him still more formidable, pope Paul III. appointed him his *legatus a latere* in Scotland. Being now armed with all the powers he was capable of receiving, he made haste to apply them to the purpose for which they were designed; and he resolved to do this in a way that would strike those who knew they were suspected or obnoxious with the greatest terror. In May, A. D. 1540, he went from Edinburgh to St. Andrew's with a more numerous and splendid retinue than any former primate, attended by the archbishop of Glasgow, by five other bishops, by several abbots, priors, and principal clergymen; by the earls of Arran, Huntley, Marshal, and Montrose; and by many other lords and gentlemen. To all the great men of the clergy and laity assembled in the cathedral May 28th, the cardinal delivered an oration, in which he complained of the great increase of heresy in all parts of the kingdom, and even in the king's court; represented the fatal consequences with which this would be attended, and the necessity of inflicting the severest punishments on all who were found guilty of that greatest of all crimes¹⁶¹.

The cardinal having thus published his scheme for the extirpation of heresy, by burning all heretics, immediately proceeded to put it in execution. In the same assembly, sir John Borthwick was accused of entertaining and propagating several heretical opinions, and dispersing heretical books. The heretical opinions of which he was accused, were

¹⁶¹ Buchan, lib. xiv. Spottiswood, p. 69.

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the same with those that were professed by the other reformers of those times, which are well known, and need not be here enumerated. Among the heretical books, for the dispersing of which he was accused, the New Testament in English was the first. Sir John, who was commonly called captain Borthwick, had concealed himself so carefully, that his enemies could not discover the place of his retreat; and as he did not appear in court to answer to the accusation brought against him, he was declared an obstinate heretic, and sentenced to be burnt as soon as he could be apprehended; and all persons were prohibited to entertain him, under the pain of excommunication. He was burnt in effigy in St. Andrew's the same day, and in Edinburgh about a week after. Thinking himself no longer safe in Scotland, he made his escape into England, where he published a defence of the doctrines for which he had been condemned, in which he exposed the cruelty and other vices of the cardinal and clergy of Scotland with great freedom¹⁶². He was well received by Henry VIII. and employed in his negotiations with the protestant princes of Germany.

Dean
Thomas
Forrest.

The cardinal was more successful in his next attempt to burn heretics. Dean Thomas Forrest, canon of St. Columbs, and vicar of Dollar, preached every Sunday on the epistle or gospel of the day; for which, and some other singularities, he was accused of heresy to his ordinary George Chrichton, bishop of Dunkeld. The bishop, when the dean

¹⁶² Fox, p. 1147, &c.

appeared before him, addressed him in this manner:

“ My joy dean Thomas, I am informed that you
“ preach the epistle and gospel every Sunday to
“ your parishioners, and that you do not take the
“ best cow and the best cloth from them, which is
“ very prejudicial to other churchmen; and there-
“ fore, my joy dean Thomas, I would you to take
“ your cow and your cloth as other churchmen do.
“ It is too much to preach every Sunday; for in
“ so doing you may make the people think that
“ we should preach likewise: it is enough for you,
“ when you find any good epistle, or good gospel,
“ that setteth forth the liberties of holy church, to
“ preach that, and let the rest alone.” To this
sage admonition of his bishop, dean Thomas made
this answer: “ I think, my lord, that none of my
“ parishioners will complain that I do not take the
“ cow and the cloth; but I know that they will
“ gladly give me any thing that they have; and
“ they know that I will gladly give them any thing
“ that I have. There is no discord amongst us.
“ Your lordship sayeth, it is too much to preach
“ every Sunday: I think it is too little; and I wish
“ that your lordship did the like.” “ Nay, nay,
“ dean Thomas, (said the bishop,) we were not
“ ordained to preach.” “ Your lordship (said the
“ dean) directs me, when I meet with a good
“ epistle, or a good gospel, to preach upon it. I
“ have read both the Old and New Testament,
“ and I have never met with a bad epistle, or a bad
“ gospel: but if your lordship will shew me which
“ are the good and which are the bad, I will preach
“ on

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“ on the good, and let the bad alone.” “ I thank my God, (said the bishop,) I know nothing of either the Old or New Testament; therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my ports and my pontifical. Go away, and lay aside all these fantasies, or you will repent it when too late.” Dean Thomas did not take the advice of his bishop, but continued to preach every Sunday. He was soon after brought before the cardinal, together with two friars, Duncan Simpson a priest, and Robert Foster a gentleman, in Stirling. They were all condemned as obstinate heretics, and burnt on the castle-hill of Edinburgh¹⁶³.

List of
heretics.

All this was only a prelude to the horrors that were intended. A list of three hundred and sixty persons, who were to be tried for heresy, was found in the king's pocket after his death. In this list were the names of about one hundred noblemen and gentlemen of fortune; and at the head of them, the earl of Arran, presumptive heir to the crown. But the troubles in which the kingdom was involved in the two last years of James V. prevented the execution of this execrable scheme, by which the clergy proposed to secure their own power and possessions, and enrich the crown, at the expence of so much innocent blood¹⁶⁴.

Cardinal Beaton had gained so great an ascendant over the mind of James V. that he devolved upon him the administration of all the affairs both in church and state. This we learn from the cardinal himself in his letters to the pope, and his

¹⁶³ Fox, p. 1153.¹⁶⁴ Sadler's Letters, p. 101.

other

other friends at Rome, in which he acquaints them, that he was overwhelmed with business; that the king had laid the whole weight of his government upon him alone, and would not suffer him to depart from court one moment ¹⁶⁵. These letters were dated May 4th, A. D. 1540. Great efforts were made by Henry VIII. to weaken the attachment of the infatuated prince to his dangerous favourite ¹⁶⁶, but without effect. We may therefore, without hesitation, ascribe all the calamities that befell the king and kingdom of Scotland in the last years of this reign, to the pernicious councils of cardinal Beaton. The objects of these councils were—to keep king James at a distance from, and at variance with, his uncle the king of England, who courted his friendship with great earnestness; to extinguish that spirit of reformation that had spread from England into Scotland; and to preserve himself and the rest of the clergy from being deprived of their honours, their power, and their possessions. In pursuing these objects, he involved the nation in a war with England; the events of which proved so disastrous, that they deprived the unhappy misguided king, first of his reason, and soon after of his life.

All these disasters did not discourage this bold and hardened politician. He attended the prince whom he had ruined, and dictated a will for him in his last moments, when he was incapable of doing any deed that required the use of reason. By

¹⁶⁵ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii. p. 66.

¹⁶⁶ See Sadler's Letters.

that will a council of regency was appointed, consisting of himself, the earls of Arran, Argyle, and Huntley. He brought this will from Faulkland to Edinburgh, where he proclaimed it at the market cross, and immediately took the reins of government into his hands ¹⁶⁷.

The cardinal did not long retain his ill-gotten power. A convention met December 28th, A. D. 1542, only eight days after the king's death. In this convention no regard was paid to the pretended will, as the manner in which it had been fabricated was not unknown. The cardinal, irritated at this, made a most violent declamation against appointing any single person, and particularly any of the name of Hamilton, regent. In this oration he gave the Hamiltons all the opprobrious names that language furnished. The earl of Arran, who was presumptive heir to the crown after the infant queen and her issue, stood up and said: "My lords, call me what names you please, but deny me not my right to the regency. Whatever faults any of my name may have committed, none of you can say I have done him any injury. Neither am I minded to flatter any of my friends in their evil doing; but by God's grace shall be as forward to correct their enormities, as any within the realm can reasonably require me. Therefore yet again, my lords, in God's name I crave, that ye do me no wrong, nor defraud me of my just title, before you have experience of my government." The whole assembly, the cardinal

¹⁶⁷ Buchan. lib. xv,

and a few of the clergy excepted, cried out, that the earl of Arran's claim was most just, and could not be disputed. He was accordingly appointed guardian to the queen, and governor of the kingdom, and invested with all the powers, prerogatives, and possessions of the crown ¹⁶⁸. In a letter to the pope, dated at Edinburgh May 14th, A. D. 1543, the earl of Arran informed his holiness, that by his proximity of blood, and the law of nature, he had been raised to the regency, as well as by the assent of the people of Scotland ¹⁶⁹. He was at the same time declared to be the second person in the kingdom, and next heir to the crown, after the infant queen and her issue.

The earl of Arran was very unfit for the station to which he was raised, and the difficult part he had to act. Scotland was at this time divided into two parties, which might be called the French and the English parties. The first of these consisted of all the clergy, and such of the nobility, gentry, and commons as adhered to France and Rome, and were enemies to the reformation and to England. This party had the ancient prejudices of the nation in their favour, and cardinal Beaton at their head, than whom they could not have had a more able and artful leader. The other party consisted of all the nobles, gentlemen, and common people, who wished for the reformation of the church, and an intimate union with England, by the marriage of the young queen to the prince of Wales. This

Two parties.

¹⁶⁸ Knox, p. 36.

¹⁶⁹ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, vol. ii. p. 157.

party gained a great accession of strength by the return of the earl of Angus, and his brother sir George Douglas, who had long been exiles; and of the earls of Glencairn and Cassilis; [the lords Maxwell, Somerville, and Fleming; with several gentlemen, who had been prisoners in England. All these, gained by Henry, were sent into Scotland to promote his views. This party also derived great advantages from the vicinity, power, and wealth of England, and the extreme eagerness of Henry to accomplish the marriage. But the most powerful party, without a proper head, is a rope of sand. The regent Arran was at the head of this party, and by his weak unsteady conduct ruined his party, brought disgrace upon himself, and many great calamities on his country ¹⁷⁰.

The imprisonment of the cardinal, the arts by which he recovered his liberty, brought over the governor to his party, attained as great a degree of power as he had ever possessed, and defeated all the schemes of Henry VIII., have been already related ¹⁷¹. We shall now therefore confine our attention to the events which have an immediate relation to religion.

As soon as the cardinal had recovered his former power, he discovered that his pride, ambition, and cruelty were not in the least diminished. The great seal was taken from the archbishop of Glasgow, and delivered in full parliament December 15th, A. D. 1543, to the cardinal ¹⁷². The same day the go-

¹⁷⁰ See Sadler's Letters.

¹⁷¹ See ch. i. sect. 2. towards the end.

¹⁷² Regist. Parl. f. 123.

vernor, who had abandoned his principles as well as his party, and was entirely under the direction of the cardinal, complained in parliament of the great increase of heresy in all parts of the kingdom; when an act was made for its extirpation, commanding all bishops and their officials to apprehend and bring to trial all who were suspected of heresy, and promising them the support and secular arm in that pious work ¹⁷³.

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This act was not suffered to lie long dormant. In January, A. D. 1544, the cardinal visited some parts of his province in great state, accompanied by the governor, the earl of Argyle, justice-general, three bishops, and several other lords and gentlemen. Many persons suspected of heresy had been imprisoned in Perth, and were now tried and found guilty. Some of them were banished, five men were hanged, and one woman was drowned ¹⁷⁴. These five men and the woman were respectable burghers of Perth, and much beloved by their neighbours, who earnestly interceded with the governor and cardinal to spare their lives. The governor, it is said, would willingly have granted the request; but the cardinal, who ruled all, was inflexible. This intercession, however, was probably the cause that they were not committed to the flames, the usual punishment of heretics.

Persecution.

The governor and cardinal were prevented from proceeding in their progress for the extirpation of heresy, by receiving intelligence of the great preparations that were making in England for a for-

¹⁷³ Regist. Parl. f. 123.¹⁷⁴ Calderwood's MSS. Hist.

midable invasion of Scotland in the spring. That invasion took place in the beginning of May this year 1544, and was most ruinous to the capital of Scotland, and the country between that and Berwick. The war between the two nations being thus kindled, it continued to rage with great violence all this and a great part of the next year; during which time the preachers and professors of the new learning met with little or no molestation, and the number of both greatly increased.

The first preachers of the doctrines of the reformation in Scotland, two or three excepted, were more eminent for their zeal and piety, than for their learning. But one no less sincere and pious than his predecessors, but more distinguished for his abilities and learning, made his appearance in this interval. This was the famous Mr. George Wishart, a son of the family of Pitarrow in the Merns. Having passed through a course of education in his native country, he studied some time at Cambridge, and visited several countries on the continent for his further improvement. When he was in Germany, he became acquainted with the doctrines of the reformed, which he studied most carefully, and embraced most cordially. He then resolved to return home, to communicate to his countrymen the knowledge he had obtained. Passing through England, he arrived in Scotland A. D. 1544; and having visited his family he immediately began to preach with the most undaunted boldness against the corruptions of the church, and the vices of the clergy. He met with a most favourable

favourable reception wherever he appeared, particularly in Dundee, where he resided a considerable time, and preached in the principal church to crowded audiences, till he was prohibited by the magistrates, at the command of the cardinal. He then visited Montrose, Perth, and several other towns in those parts, preaching every where to admiring multitudes, who were equally charmed with the novelty of his doctrine, and manner of preaching. Being invited into the west, where the reformation had made the greatest progress, he preached at the market cross, in the town of Ayr, to a prodigious crowd of people, while the archbishop of Glasgow preached in the church to a few old women. In a word, the strength of his arguments convinced the more intelligent of the truth of his doctrines, while those who were not capable of judging of his arguments were greatly affected by the eloquence, warmth, and fervour of his discourses. His converts were almost innumerable; and among these were not a few of the nobility and principal gentlemen of the kingdom¹⁷⁵.

The cardinal and the clergy in general were greatly incensed against this bold and dangerous adversary; and a resolution was formed to put an end to his attacks upon the church, by taking away his life by some means or other. Two attempts were made to cut him off by assassination; but he defeated the first by his courage, and the second by his caution. On the first of these attempts he be-

¹⁷⁵ Knox, p. 48, &c. Edit. 1644. Spottiswood, p. 76, &c. Buchan. lib. xv.

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haved in such a noble and generous manner as should have softened the hearts of his enemies, if that had been possible. A friar named Weighton, who had undertaken to kill him when he was in Dundee, knowing that it was his custom to remain in the pulpit after sermon till the church was empty, skulked at the bottom of the stairs with a dagger in his right hand under his gown. Mr. Wishart, (who was remarkably quick-sighted,) as he came down from the pulpit, observing the friar's countenance, and his hand with something in it under his gown, suspected his design, sprung forward, seized his hand, and wrenched the dagger from him. At the noise which this scuffle occasioned, a crowd of people rushed into the church, and would have torn the friar in pieces; but Mr. Wishart clasped him in his arms, and declared that none should touch him but through his body. "He hath done me no hurt, (said he,) my friends; he hath done me much good; he hath taught me what I have to fear, and put me upon my guard." With these and other speeches he appeased the people, and sent home the assassin in safety⁷⁶. If he discovered much courage and presence of mind on this occasion, he discovered no less caution and sagacity on the next. When he was at Montrose, a messenger came to him with a letter from the laird of Kinceer, acquainting him, that he had been suddenly taken ill, and earnestly intreating him to come to him without delay. He immediately set out, accompanied by two or three friends; but

⁷⁶ Knox, p. 50.

when

when they were about half a mile from the town, he stopped, saying, "I suspect there is treason in this matter. Go you (said he to one of his friends) up yonder, and tell me what you observe." He came back and told him, that he had seen a company of spearmen lying in ambush near the road. They then returned to the town, and on the way he said to his friends: "I know I shall one day fall by the hands of that blood-thirsty man (meaning the cardinal); but I trust it shall not be in this manner¹⁷⁷."

These two plots having miscarried, and Mr. Synod. Wishart still continuing to preach with his usual boldness and success, the cardinal summoned a synod of the clergy to meet January 11th, A. D. 1546, in the blackfriars church Edinburgh, to consider what was proper to be done to put a stop to the progress of heresy, and to that torrent of defection from the church that threatened her ruin. Some proposals were made for reforming the lives of the clergy, and obliging them to be more diligent in the duties of their office, particularly in preaching; but nothing was determined.

When the cardinal was thus employed, he received information that the great enemy of the church, Mr. George Wishart, was in the house of Ormiston, only about eight miles from Edinburgh. He did not neglect this information, but immediately applied to the governor, and with some difficulty, it is said, procured a sufficient force, with which he set out in the night, and arrived at El-

Mr. Wishart apprehended.

¹⁷⁷ Knox, p. 51.

phingston,

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phingston, about a mile from Ormiston. Here the cardinal halted, and sent the earl of Bothwell with a party of armed men to Ormiston to seize Mr. Wishart. Having surrounded the house that none might escape, they awaked the family, and demanded admittance. This Mr. Cockburn, the owner of the house, at first refused; but finding it in vain to resist, the earl and a few of his followers were admitted. After some expostulations, the earl of Bothwell gave a promise, confirmed by an oath, that he would protect Mr. Wishart from the malice of the cardinal, and procure him a fair trial, or would set him at liberty. On this security, Mr. Wishart was produced, and put into his hands¹⁷⁸.

Delivered
to the
governor.

The earl carried his prisoner to his own castle of Hails, and seemed at first to have some intention to perform his promise. But if he ever had such an intention, it was soon shaken, by the persuasion, it is said, of the queen dowager, with whom he was in love. To give him an excuse for violating his oath and promise, he was brought before the governor and council January 19th, and commanded, under the highest penalties, to deliver his prisoner to the governor before the end of that month. He complied with that command, and conducted Mr. Wishart to the castle of Edinburgh, from whence he was soon after carried to the castle of St. Andrew's.

Governor
refuses to
attend his
trial.

The cardinal having got this capital enemy of the church into his hands, loaded him with irons, and resolved that he should not escape. He summoned

¹⁷⁸ Knox, p. 54, 55.

an assembly of the bishops and principal clergy to meet at St. Andrew's February 17th for his trial, and invited the governor to be present on that occasion. With this invitation the obsequious governor would have complied, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends, particularly David Hamilton of Preston, a wise and good man, who convinced him by many arguments of the folly of drawing upon himself the guilt and odium that would attend the condemnation and execution of a man so innocent and so much admired. He wrote therefore to the cardinal, that he could not come to St. Andrew's at the time proposed, and desired him to delay Mr. Wishart's trial to a more convenient season. The haughty prelate stormed at this refusal, returned an insulting answer to the governor, and determined to proceed without delay ¹⁷⁹.

A convocation of the prelates and clergy assembled in great state in the cathedral March 1st, for the trial of Mr. Wishart, who was brought to the place prepared for him by a guard of a hundred armed men. In this pretended trial, all the rules of law, justice, equity, and even decency, were most grossly violated; the prisoner was loaded with the opprobrious names of heretic, runnagate, thief, traitor, &c. at the reading of each of the eighteen articles of the charge against him, which he bore with inimitable patience. When he attempted to answer these articles, he was silenced when he had only uttered a few sentences. But these sentences were directly to the point, and really unanswerable.

Execution
of Mr.
Wishart.

¹⁷⁹ Buchan. lib. xv. p. 292.

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He earnestly begged leave to explain the doctrines he had preached, and to shew their conformity to the word of God; but this was denied him. After some hours were spent in insulting rather than trying the prisoner, the predetermined sentence was pronounced, condemning him to be burnt as an obstinate heretic¹⁸⁰. This cruel sentence was executed the next day on the green before the castle. Thus perished Mr. George Wishart, one of the most pious and learned of the first preachers of the doctrines of the reformers in Scotland. His death was a loss to his persecutors, as well as to his friends. If he had lived a few years longer, the reformation, it is probable, would have been carried on with more regularity and less devastation. He had acquired an astonishing power over the minds of the people; and he always employed it in restraining them from acts of violence, inspiring them with love to one another, and with gentleness and humanity to their enemies.

Exultation
of the
clergy.

The exultation of the clergy at the execution of Mr. Wishart was excessive; and they loaded the cardinal with praises as the most glorious champion of the church. They now imagined that they would enjoy their power, their honours, and riches, in tranquillity, and that none would dare to open their mouths against the church or clergy. But in this they were mistaken. The death of Mr. Wishart made a very different impression on the minds of the people in general; it excited their compassion for the meek and patient sufferer, and

¹⁸⁰ Knox. Buchan. lib. xv. p. 292.

their

their indignation against the authors of his sufferings. The effects of these passions very soon appeared.

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The cardinal was not a little elated with this bold achievement, the praises he received, and the advantages he expected to derive from it. Soon after, he spent some time at Finhaven in Angus, the earl of Crawford's seat, in settling the preliminaries of a marriage between that earl's eldest son, and one of his natural daughters, named Margaret, with whom he gave a very great fortune; and in celebrating that marriage. When the festivities on that occasion were ended, he returned to his castle of St. Andrew's, where a great number of artificers of different kinds were employed in adding to its beauty, conveniency, and strength.

Marriage.

The cardinal had many enemies, some on a civil or political, and others on a religious account; and the late execution of Mr. Wishart had greatly increased their number and inflamed their anger. John Lesly, brother to the earl of Rothes, had been long at variance with him; and Norman Lesly, that earl's eldest son, had lately quarrelled with him for denying him an estate, to which he thought he had a claim. These two, by often conversing together, heated one another, till at length they resolved to put him to death. They admitted into their secret and society William Kirkaldy of Grange, (who was incensed against the cardinal for depriving his father of the treasurer's office,) Peter Carmichael, and James Melville, who were zealous promoters of the reformation, and admirers of Mr. Wishart.

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Wilhart. These five, after several consultations, determined to destroy the object of their resentment in his own castle. In order to this, they agreed to meet at St. Andrew's, in the evening of May 28th, with a few of their followers, on whose secrecy and courage they could rely. They met accordingly; and having settled their plan of proceeding that evening, they assembled next morning early, in number only sixteen, in the church-yard of the cathedral, near the castle, and waited till the gates were opened, and the draw-bridge down. Kirkcaldy of Grange, with other six of his accomplices, then walked down to the gate, were admitted without suspicion, and entered into conversation with the porter, asking him, when they would have an opportunity of waiting on the cardinal; and other questions. By and by Norman Lesly, with three or four others, came and joined the company. At last John Lesly, with the rest of the conspirators, approached. When the porter saw John Lesly, knowing him to be an enemy to his master, he began to suspect some ill design, and attempted to draw up the bridge: but those who were already admitted seized him, took all his keys from him, and threw him into the ditch. Being now masters of the castle, they placed four of their number near the cardinal's chamber, to prevent his receiving any intelligence. They then turned out at the postern, about one hundred artificers and labourers, and about fifty of the household, retaining only the governor's eldest son as a hostage. All this was done without any resistance, and with so little noise, that
the

the cardinal was not alarmed till they knocked at the door of his chamber. Being asked who was there? they answered, a Lesly. Knowing the voice of his enemy John Lesly, he apprehended his danger, and, with the assistance of his chamberlain, barricaded the door, which was very strong. After some unsuccessful attempts to break it open, they brought a grate with live coals, and threatened to set it on fire. The door was then opened, most probably by the chamberlain, and they rushed in with their swords drawn. They found the cardinal seated in an elbow chair, who cried, "I am a priest, I am a priest; you will not kill me!" After a short and angry expostulation they dispatched him with many wounds. His last words were, "Fy! fy! all is lost, all is lost!"

Thus fell, in his fifty-second year, cardinal Beaton, the most opulent and powerful churchman that ever was in Scotland. That he was a man of great abilities his history proves, and his enemies did not deny; but his virtues were not equal to his abilities. The general tenor of his life was very unsuitable to his profession and his vows. He had many natural children whom he publicly acknowledged, and on whom he bestowed considerable fortunes. He was a most consummate dissembler. It cost him nothing to make the strongest professions of love to those he hated, of esteem to those he despised, and of friendship to those he designed to ruin. His political schemes were deep and artful, but indirect and crooked,

¹⁸¹ Buchan. lib. xv. Knox, p. 71—73.

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carried into execution by deception and fraud, when he had not power to employ force. He was proud and ambitious, cruel and unrelenting, especially to those who were zealous for the reformation of the church, which he knew would endanger his own greatness, and the power and possessions of the clergy. His death made a mighty noise, and produced very important consequences.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER III.

History of the Constitution, Government,
and Laws of Great Britain, from A. D.
1485 to A. D. 1547.

AS the civil, military, and ecclesiastical history of Britain in this busy period, hath unavoidably swelled to an uncommon size, it is necessary to compress the materials of the following chapters of this book, by expressing every thing in as few words as possible.

The constitution of Great Britain, the envy and admiration of surrounding nations, hath been the work of ages; in the course of which it hath been exposed to various dangers, and undergone various changes, before it reached that degree of excellence,
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Changes
in the con-
stitution.

lence, precision, and stability, to which it hath now attained. Many of these changes have been related in the third chapters of the former books of this work; and such of the changes in the government and laws of England in the present period, as seem to merit a place in general history, will be related in the first section; and those in the government and laws of Scotland, in the second section of this chapter.

S E C T. I.

History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws of England, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

Nobility.

THE people of England were arranged in the same ranks and orders in society in this as in the former period; but a very considerable change was now made in the numbers and circumstances of the people in some of those ranks, particularly the highest and lowest.

So many noblemen had been killed, executed, and attainted, in the cruel contest between the houses of York and Lancaster, that only twenty-eight temporal peers were summoned to the first parliament of Henry VII.¹⁸²: a very small number in so great a kingdom. This diminution of the number of peers diminished their weight in the scale of government; and as that was one object of the policy of Henry VII. he raised very few to the peerage. Only thirty-six temporal peers were sum-

¹⁸² Dugdale's Summons to Parl.

moned

moned to the first parliament of Henry VIII.¹⁸³ Though that prince was more profuse of his money, he was no less frugal of his honours than his father, and no more than forty-seven peers were summoned to the first parliament of his son Edward VI.¹⁸⁴ Some other things contributed to diminish the power and influence of the peerage in this period: the facility of alienating their estates; the strict execution of the laws against retaining great numbers of idle people in their service, by giving them liveries, and by that splendid expensive mode of living introduced in the reign of Henry VIII. In a word, the baronage of England was no longer that too powerful preponderating body they had long been; equally formidable to their sovereigns and their fellow-subjects.

The numbers of the people in the lowest rank in society, that of slaves, were also greatly diminished in this period. Sir Thomas Smith, who flourished in those times, and was secretary of state to Edward VI., in his Treatise on the Republic of England, mentions two kinds of slaves, *viz.* villains in gross, the absolute property of their masters and their heirs; and villains regardant, who were annexed to a particular estate, and transferred with it from one proprietor to another. "Neither of the
" one sort nor of the other," says he, "have we
" any number in England; and of the first I never
" knew any in the realm in my time: of the second
" so few there be, that it is not almost worth the
" speaking about. But law doth acknowledge

¹⁸³ Dugdale's Summons to Parl. p. 436.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid. p. 509.

“ them in both these kinds¹⁸⁵.” That is, no law had been made for abolishing these kinds of slavery. Other causes had produced that effect. Several causes of the gradual decline of slavery in England have been already mentioned¹⁸⁶. Another cause now contributed to produce that effect. It came to be a prevailing opinion among people of all ranks, that slavery was inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity and the rights of humanity, offensive to God, and injurious to man. Wickliff and his followers inculcated this doctrine with great warmth, and their declamations had a great effect. Henry VIII. granted a manumission A. D. 1514, to two of his slaves and their families; for which he assigned this reason in the preamble: “ That God had at
 “ first created all men equally free by nature, but
 “ that many had been reduced to slavery by the
 “ laws of men. We believe it, therefore, to be a
 “ pious act, and meritorious in the sight of God, to
 “ set certain of our slaves at liberty from their
 “ bondage¹⁸⁷.” As these sentiments prevailed, slavery declined, and was at length extinguished, without any positive law. An attempt was made to procure a law for the general manumission of the bondmen in England; and a bill for that purpose was brought into the house of lords A. D. 1526, read three times in one day and rejected. But what could not be effected at once by a law, was gradually accomplished by humanity¹⁸⁸.

¹⁸⁵ Smith's Republic, p. 160.

¹⁸⁷ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 470.

¹⁸⁶ See vol. v. p. 359.

¹⁸⁸ Journals, vol. i. p. 99.

A new race of people, differing in their origin, complexion, language, and manners, from the other inhabitants, appeared in England about this time, and soon became so numerous, and committed so many crimes, that a law was made, 22 Henry VIII. for their expulsion. These people were called Gypsies, or Egyptians; because they said, and it was generally believed, that they came originally from Egypt. The characters and practices of these remarkable wanderers are thus described in the preamble to the act of parliament for their expulsion:

“ Forasmuch as before this time divers and many
“ outlandish people, calling themselves Egyptians,
“ using no craft nor feat of merchandise, have come
“ into this realm, and gone from shire to shire,
“ and place to place in great company, and used
“ great, subtile, and crafty means to deceive the
“ people; bearing them in hand, that by palmistry
“ they could tell men’s and women’s fortunes; and
“ so many times by craft and subtilty have deceived the people of their money, and also have
“ committed many heinous felonies and robberies,
“ to the great hurt and deceit of the people that
“ they have come among¹⁸⁹.” For these reasons the parliament enacted, that no more Egyptians should be admitted into the realm; and that if any of them landed, they should be immediately seized and commanded to depart. It was further enacted, That a proclamation should be published, commanding all the Egyptians in England to banish themselves out of the kingdom in sixteen days, un-

¹⁸⁹ Stat. 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

der the penalty of imprisonment and the confiscation of their goods. But neither this law, nor several subsequent laws still more severe, produced the desired effect. Many thousands of those pernicious inmates remained in England long after this time; and considerable numbers of their posterity are still remaining.

Parliament.

So full an account hath been given of the constitution, powers, privileges, forms of proceeding, and other circumstances, of the two houses of parliament, in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it will not be necessary to say much on these subjects in this chapter¹⁹⁰. The changes that took place in parliament in this period were not many, and few of them were of great importance.

House of lords.

For several centuries the spiritual peers had been more in number than the temporal peers in the house of lords. But a great revolution happened in that particular in this period. By the dissolution of the monasteries and other religious houses, more than one half of the spiritual peers were cut off from the house of lords at one blow. No fewer than twenty-six parliamentary abbots and two parliamentary priors lost their baronies and their seats in the house of lords at the same time. When the parliament met after this great revolution, April 13th, A. D. 1539, the house of peers made a very different appearance from what it had done on all former occasions, from the time that the parliament had been divided into two houses. Forty-

¹⁹⁰ See vol. v. p. 360—371.

one temporal, and only twenty spiritual peers were present in that session¹⁹¹. This revolution was very favourable to the cause, and had been promoted by the friends of the reformation: but it was fatal to the cause of popery, which thereby lost a great number of its strongest pillars, and soon fell to the ground.

The forms of conducting business in parliament were not very firmly fixed, in the times we are now considering; at least some forms were then used which have long since been discontinued, which were very different from those that are now established. At the opening of every parliament the king was present seated on his throne, but made no speech to the two houses. The speech was made by the lord chancellor; and as the chancellors in those times were generally prelates, those speeches were a kind of sermons on a text of scripture, and abounded in the most fulsome flattery of his majesty, whose glorious perfections the humble prelate acknowledged himself incapable of describing. The chancellor then named several committees, consisting of lords and commons, for the quicker dispatch of business; *viz.* one committee for receiving petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; another for receiving petitions from Gascony, and the English territories on the continent: one committee for trying the petitions from England, Ireland, Wales, and Scotland; and another for trying the petitions from Gascony, and the continent. This was a very ancient

Forms of proceedings in parliament.

¹⁹¹ Journals, vol. i. p. 129.

form; but in those times it was far from being a mere unmeaning form, as it is at present. The triers of petitions had a great deal of power, and did a great deal of business. In particular, they had the same dangerous power with the lords of the articles in the parliament of Scotland, to select such petitions as they thought worthy of the attention of parliament, to form them into bills to be laid before the houses, and to reject others. This gave the king and his ministers a great advantage; as it put it into their power to prevent any thing that was disagreeable to them from being introduced into parliament, except incidentally by the members in their speeches¹⁹². The forms of reading and passing bills were in some respects different from what they are at present. Bills were prepared and brought into the house by the triers of petitions, written upon paper, and after a first and second reading, were commonly delivered to the king's attorney and solicitor, to be examined, corrected, and put into legal parliamentary form¹⁹³. No certain number of times was fixed for reading bills before they were passed. In the Journals of the house of lords we find some bills were passed on the first reading with the unanimous consent of all the members, and that others were twice read on one day, passed, and sent to the commons¹⁹⁴. Many were passed on the third reading, but some were read four times, some five times, some six times, some seven times, and some even eight times¹⁹⁵.

¹⁹² Journals, passim.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. p. 125.

¹⁹³ Ibid. p. 11. & passim.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p. 26. 49. 52. 55. 56.

It seems to have been the intention of parliament in those times to pass those bills immediately on the first or second reading on which all were agreed; and to read those bills on which different opinions were entertained, till all, or a great majority of the members, came to be of the same sentiments. This however, is only a conjecture, and may be a mistake. Several other peculiarities in the modes of conducting business in parliament might be collected from the Journals of the house of lords, if it were necessary.

The sessions of parliament in this period were seldom longer than five or six weeks, sometimes much shorter; but in these short sessions, both houses applied to business with great assiduity. They had often two meetings in the day; one at eight or nine o'clock in the morning, after breakfast; the other at two o'clock in the afternoon, after dinner¹⁹⁶. Great pains were taken to secure a full attendance of all the members at every meeting. None could be absent without leave from the king, and without naming one or two who were present as proxies, to act in his name. Such as were absent without leave, and without proxies, were liable to a heavy fine. The names of all the members present at every meeting are carefully marked in the Journals, and from thence we find that there was constantly a very full attendance¹⁹⁷.

Some of the parliaments of this period were of longer duration, and had a greater number of sessions, than those of former times. The parliament

Long parliament.

¹⁹⁶ Journals, vol. i. p. 39, &c.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. passim.

that

that met at Westminster 21 Henry VIII. November 3d, A. D. 1529, had seven sessions, each of them uncommonly long and full of business, and was not dissolved till April 4th, A. D. 1535, after having continued six years and four months¹⁹⁸.

Unanimity
in parlia-
ment.

Though many of the laws that were made by the parliament of England in the reign of Henry VIII.; as the laws for abolishing the power of the pope; for investing the king, a layman, with the supremacy of the church; and for the dissolution of religious houses, could not but be very disagreeable to many of the members, and particularly to the spiritual peers in the house of lords; it is astonishing how little opposition they encountered, and with what facility and rapidity they passed through both houses. The bill empowering the king, as supreme head of the church, to constitute bishops by his own authority, was brought into the house of lords, read three times, passed, sent to the commons, read three times by them, passed, and returned to the lords all in the same day¹⁹⁹. At the end of the third and last session of that parliament, which finished the dissolution of the monastic orders, granted their houses, lands, and goods to the king, and made many other severe laws against the pope and church of Rome, it is recorded in the Journals, "That the lords gave their suffrages
" and delivered their sentiments concerning all
" these acts; and such was their unanimity, that
" there was no difference of opinion about any
" one of them²⁰⁰." So great an ascendant had this

¹⁹⁸ Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. 1

¹⁹⁹ Journals, p. 112.

²⁰⁰ Ibid. p. 163.

awful prince gained over the minds of his greatest subjects. We meet with no protests or dissents in the Journals of the house of lords in this reign. That was a measure too dangerous to be attempted. So great was the authority, and so dreadful the displeasure of this prince, that the boldest of his subjects trembled at the thoughts of opposition.

The forms of electing the members of the house of commons, and the laws for preventing undue elections and false returns, were the same in this as in the former period. Great pains were taken to secure the constant attendance of all the members from the beginning to the end of every session. At the beginning of a parliament a list of the members returned was made out and called over at the first meeting, and all who were not present to answer to their names were fined. A very distinct account is preserved in the Journals of the house of lords, of the opening of the parliament that met at Westminster on Monday January 16th, A. D. 1542. On that day the duke of Suffolk, attended by many other lords in their robes, came into the parliament chamber, and commanded the clerk of the parliament to call the names of all the knights, citizens, and burgesses, who were standing without the bar, and every one answered to his name. The duke and the other lords then took their seats, waiting for the entry of the king, the commons still standing without the bar²⁰¹. No less care was taken to secure the attendance of all the members to the end, than their appearance at the beginning, of

²⁰¹ Journals, p. 164.

every session. By an act of parliament, A. D. 1541, it was declared, that if any member left the house without the leave of the speaker before the end of the session, he should have no claim for wages from his constituents ²⁰².

Though both houses of the parliament of England in this period on many occasions acted a very mean part, and shamefully sacrificed their own undoubted rights and liberties, and those of the people, by complying with the imperious mandates and impetuous passions of their sovereigns and their ministers, there is sufficient evidence that the commons now began to acquire a greater degree of weight in the scale of government, than they had formerly possessed or exercised. Of this it would be easy to produce many proofs, but a few will be sufficient.

We have already seen, that in former periods the commons did not take the lead in granting supplies to the crown, but contented themselves with granting their own supplies and those of their constituents, while the peers in the house of lords, and the clergy in convocation, granted each their own aids, sometimes of a different kind from those granted by the commons ²⁰³. It plainly appears, however, that greater attention was now paid to the commons in this important business, and that their assent was necessary to every grant, though some of the money-bills still originated in the house of lords. Of this it will be proper to give one example out of several that might be given. A bill

²⁰² Statutes.

²⁰³ Vol. iv. p. 391.

was brought into the house of lords February 22d, A. D. 1515, for granting the king tonnage and poundage during his life, was read a first time, and delivered to the king's attorney to be written out fair. It was read a second time on Friday the 23d, a third time on Monday the 26th, a fourth time on Tuesday the 27th, and passed. It was sent with eight other bills to the house of commons March 10th, where it was passed and returned to the lords March 28th²⁰⁴. On some occasions, when the king, by his ministers, had applied first to the lords for a supply, and they had agreed to grant it; instead of bringing in a bill for that purpose, they appointed a committee of the principal lords in their house to wait upon the commons, to communicate to them the requisition and the consent of the lords, and to request them to take that business into their consideration, and then retire²⁰⁵. This was a degree of attention and respect that had not been paid to the commons in any former period. The steadiness with which the commons sometimes declined complying with the king's demands, enforced by the consent of the lords, and the most earnest solicitations of the great cardinal Wolsey in the zenith of his power, is another proof of the rising spirit of the house of commons²⁰⁶. Both the king and the cardinal were so much disgusted with the opposition they met with in the house of commons to their exorbitant demands, that they formed the resolution of ruling without parlia-

²⁰⁴ Journals. p. 25, 26, 31. 38.²⁰⁵ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 86.²⁰⁶ Ibid. p. 387

ments ; to which they adhered almost seven years, and from which they did not depart till they had exhausted all the illegal arts of extorting money. Some of these arts were such, that if they had been successful they would have put an end to parliaments, and to all the rights and liberties of the people of England. Commissions were sent into every county in England, A. D. 1525, empowering and commanding the commissioners to levy from the laity the sixth, and from the clergy the fourth part of their goods. But these commissions excited such an universal alarm, and threatened so great a storm, that the king thought proper to disavow and recal them by proclamation ²⁹⁷.

In former periods, it hath been observed that when the privileges of the commons were invaded, they applied to the king or to the house of lords for redress ²⁹⁸ : but in this period they took the protection of their privileges, and the punishment of those who invaded them, into their own hands ; which is another proof of their increasing power and consequence. A remarkable example of this occurred in the parliament that met at Westminster 16th January, A. D. 1543 : George Ferrers, member for Plymouth, was arrested for debt, and imprisoned in the Counter, Bread-street ; of which the speaker having acquainted the house, they sent their serjeant to demand the prisoner. But the clerks of the Counter were so far from complying with this demand, that they gave him very ill language, broke his mace, and knocked down his

²⁹⁷ Herbert, p. 66.

²⁹⁸ See vol. v. p. 366.

servant.

servant. In the midst of this scuffle the two sheriffs of London arrived, to whom the serjeant applied; but they treated him with great contempt; and refused to deliver the prisoner. On his return to Westminster, his relation of the treatment he had received threw the house into a violent ferment. They declared unanimously, that they would do no business till they had recovered their member; went in a body to the house of lords, (according to an established custom of the two houses, communicating to each other any extraordinary emergency,) and by their speaker represented the indignity that had been offered them. The lords, after a short deliberation, replied by the chancellor, that the indignity was very great, but referred the redress of it, and the punishment of the offenders, entirely to the commons. The chancellor, at the same time, offered them his warrant for the liberation of their member, which they refused. The commons, on their return to their own house, sent their serjeant with his mace again, to demand their member. It being now known to the sheriffs how much their late treatment of the serjeant had been resented, they received him with the greatest respect, and immediately set the prisoner at liberty. But the serjeant, agreeably to the orders he had received, summoned the two sheriffs to appear at the bar of the house of commons next morning at eight o'clock, and to bring with them all who had been concerned in the late riot, and one Mr. White, at whose suit the member had been arrested. They appeared accordingly, and after a severe reprimand
from

from the speaker, the two sheriffs, with White the prosecutor, were committed to the Tower, and three of their officers to Newgate; but on a petition from the lord mayor of London, they were liberated in a few days²⁰⁹. This spirited conduct of the commons was applauded by the king.

Servility
of parlia-
ment.

But though it is certain that the house of commons acquired additional power and influence in the course of this period, it is no less certain, that both the houses of the parliament of England, on many occasions, discovered a spirit of servile submission to the imperious mandates and impetuous passions of their sovereigns, particularly of Henry VIII.; very dishonourable to themselves, and very pernicious to their country. Nothing but a servile unmanly dread of the frowns of royalty (which were indeed very terrible) could have induced them to give their assent to the many unconstitutional, unjust, absurd, contradictory, oppressive, and cruel laws that were enacted in the reign of that stern imperious tyrant. That many laws were made in that reign which merited the above epithets is undeniable. Could any thing be more subversive of the constitution than the law which gave royal proclamations the same authority with acts of parliament²¹⁰? What could be more contrary to the plainest principles of justice and common honesty, than the law which absolved the king from the obligation of paying his debts, for which he had given security under his privy seal, and even obliged

²⁰⁹ Hollingshed, p. 955. *Miscellanea Parliamentaria*, p. 1—10.

²¹⁰ Stat. 31 Hen. VIII.

those

those who had received payment to refund the money they had received²¹¹? How absurd and indelicate was that law which enacted, "That if
 " the king or his successors should intend to marry
 " any woman whom they took to be a pure and
 " clean maid, if she, not being so, did not declare
 " the same to the king, it should be high treason,
 " and all who knew it and did not reveal it were
 " guilty of misprision of treason²¹²!" By act of parliament 28 Henry VIII. it was declared to be high treason to assert the validity of the king's marriage with his first queen Catherine of Spain, or his second queen Anne Boleyn; and whoever refused to answer upon oath to every thing contained in that act was declared to be a traitor²¹³. By another act, about seven years after, (which did not repeal but confirm the former act,) it was made treason to say any thing to the disparagement or slander of the princess Mary or Elizabeth²¹⁴. How captious, contradictory, and cruel were these laws! If they had both been put in execution, any man in England might have been convicted of treason by the one or by the other. If he refused to answer upon oath, he was a traitor: If he asserted the validity of the king's marriages, or of one of them, he was a traitor by the first act: if he denied it, he disparaged the princesses, or one of them, and was a traitor by the second. The truth seems to have been, that the servile parliaments of those

²¹¹ Burnet, b. xi. Records, No. xxxi. Rolls of Parl. A. D. 1529.

²¹² Burnet, vol. i. p. 313.

²¹³ 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7.

²¹⁴ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

times were in such haste to gratify the present predominant passion of their imperious master, that they did not reflect on the absurdity, cruelty, and inconsistency of the acts they passed, or on the fatal consequences which they might produce. Of this many other proofs, if it were necessary, might be adduced.

Great
power of
the crown.

When the opulence and power of the great barons (which had long formed a balance to the power of their sovereigns) were gradually declining, by the alienation of their lands and the loss of their retainers, and when the spirit of parliaments was sinking into servility, the power and prerogatives of the crown were gradually increasing in the same proportion, and at length threatened the destruction of the constitution, and the establishment of an absolute monarchy. The accession of Henry VII. however defective his right might be, was a very happy event. It put an end to a most destructive civil war, the horrors of which had made so deep an impression on the minds of the people, that they seem to have been determined to suffer and submit to any thing, rather than rekindle those flames which had threatened them with destruction. That artful prince availed himself of this disposition of the people, and obtained such a settlement of the crown as he wished, and every thing he desired from parliament. His implacable hatred of the house of York and its partizans; his avarice, extortions, vexatious prosecutions on antiquated penal statutes, and the general severity of his government, created him many enemies, encouraged pre-

tenders to his throne, and procured them followers. But the great body of the nobility, gentry, and people, though secretly discontented, remained quiet; having the dreadful disasters of the late times fresh in their memories. The insurrections were soon suppressed, and served only to render the king more secure and arbitrary.

Henry VIII. at his accession was in the bloom of youth, engaged in the most ardent pursuit of pleasures and amusements of the most splendid and expensive kind, by which he soon dissipated the immense treasure accumulated by his parsimonious father; and thereby parted with one instrument of increasing his power, about which at that time he had no anxiety. He committed the management of affairs to his ministers, who sacrificed Empson and Dudley, the two hated instruments of his father's extortions, to the resentment of the people, which rendered the young monarch exceedingly popular. He still continued to pursue his ostentatious expensive pleasures with unremitting ardour, in which he was encouraged by his favourite Wolsey, who formed, and by his great abilities had nearly accomplished, the base design of rendering the king absolute, and the crown independent of the people, by imposing taxes without the consent of parliament. Loans had been often solicited and obtained, though the repayment of them was known to be very uncertain. Free gifts, called benevolences, had been frequently demanded, and by many granted, though with much reluctance. Both these methods of raising money were contrary

Attempts
to ruin the
constitu-
tion.

to the spirit of the constitution, and the last of them was contrary to an act of parliament; but as they did not avowedly extort money from the subjects without their own consent, they were by many complied with, and by all endured. But when cardinal Wolsey proceeded to strike the last decisive blow for overturning the constitution, by sending commissioners into every county in England, A. D. 1526, to levy the sixth part of the goods of the laity, and the fourth part of the goods of the clergy, by the royal authority alone, the spirit of the nation was roused, and so great a ferment raised, that Henry found it necessary to disavow his minister and recal his commissioners ²¹⁶.

Great
power of
Henry
VIII.

But though Henry was foiled in this attempt, he was not cured of his avarice and ambition. He still wished to have the money of his subjects at his command, and the power of ruling them as he pleased. To accomplish this in the latter half of his reign, he pursued a more indirect, but more insidious and more dangerous method, by managing parliaments, and making them subservient to his designs against the rights and liberties of his subjects. In this he was too successful. The long parliament, and all the subsequent parliaments in his reign, were so managed, that they denied him nothing. The methods of managing parliaments were no secrets even in those times; and there was one circumstance that greatly facilitated their operation. After the disputes with Rome commenced, the nation was divided into two great parties; the

²¹⁶ Herbert, A. D. 1526.

partisans

partisans of the pope, and the friends of the reformation; and these parties, knowing the king's temper, engaged in a formal contest which should flatter him most, and comply with all his requisitions with the greatest alacrity, to gain him to their side. This seems to be the reason that bills passed both houses with little or no opposition, that were exceedingly disagreeable to many, if not to a majority of the members. They dared not oppose with any vigour, for fear of irritating the furious monarch, and throwing him into the arms of the opposite party. It was not so much policy as his natural temper that made him, between these two parties, sometimes promote, and sometimes retard the reformation. He was a papist, though he had quarrelled with the pope. He hanged and beheaded those who acknowledged the papal authority, and burned those who denied the popish doctrines; and his obsequious parliaments gave their sanction to both. It was a parliament in which there were many, probably a majority, of zealous papists, that abolished the pope's authority in England; invested the king with the title of supreme head of the church in his dominions; dissolved the religious houses, and granted all their goods to the crown²¹⁷. It was a parliament in which we know there were many members in both houses who had cordially embraced the principles of the reformation, that made the cruel act of the Six Articles, which condemned to the flames all who had the courage to

²¹⁷ 23 Hen. VIII. Burnet, vol. i. p. 144. Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 144.

avow and defend^d these principles; nor do we hear of any considerable opposition that was made to that act, except by archbishop Cranmer, and his opposition was considered as an extraordinary thing, and an act of the greatest heroism. Parliaments gave the force of laws to royal proclamations, and to succeeding princes the power of repealing all laws made before they were twenty-four years of age ²¹⁸. Parliaments gave the king authority to regulate the religious opinions his subjects were to entertain, and the religious ceremonies they were to perform, and to change them as he pleased by proclamations from time to time. They gave him even the extraordinary power of settling the succession to the crown, by his letters patent or his last will ²¹⁹. In a word, these parliaments complied with all Henry's caprices, followed him in all his turnings and windings, and enacted whatever he dictated with little hesitation. In these circumstances the constitution was on the brink of ruin, and England was in those times very nearly an absolute, with the outward forms of a limited monarchy.

Perversion
of law,

We hear of no very remarkable change in the constitution of the courts at Westminster, or in the ordinary administration of the laws in this period, except when the sovereigns interfered. Then indeed the laws were basely perverted, and the most shocking acts of oppression perpetrated, under the pretence of executing the laws and punishing offences. In the reign of Henry VII. these oppres-

²¹⁸ Parl. Hist. vol. iii. p. 132.

²¹⁹ Ibid. p. 196.

sions

sions extended only to the imprisonment of many of the subjects on the most frivolous pretences, and detaining them in prison till they paid great compositions to obtain their liberty; to imposing exorbitant amerciaments for small delinquencies; exacting enormous reliefs from the royal wards; demanding excessive sums for pardons, and a most rigorous execution of antiquated penal statutes²²⁰. By these and various other methods the laws were made the instruments of oppression, the subjects harassed and plundered, and the king's coffers filled. In the reign of Henry VIII. (who was more jealous and vindictive than covetous,) this perversion of law, and the forms of justice, took a more fatal turn, and deprived many persons of high rank, not only of their liberties, honours, and estates, but also of their lives, on very defective evidence, and sometimes without any trial. On what slender evidence were the amiable queen Anne Boleyn, and her accomplished brother lord Rochford, found guilty of high treason, condemned, and executed? On what trivial pretences did the convocation pronounce a sentence of divorce between Henry and his queen Anne of Cleves, which was confirmed by parliament? How many noble persons were found guilty of high treason, without any trial, by acts of attainder in parliament, though they were in custody and earnestly intreated to be tried before they were condemned? Was not this a gross violation of the first and plainest principles of law and justice? Who after this will hesitate to pronounce Henry VIII. a tyrant,

²²⁰ Bacon. 629, 630. Hollingh. 504. Polyd. Virg. p. 613—615.

and his parliaments the servile executioners of his imperious and cruel mandates?

Govern-
ment san-
guinary.

The courts of some of the popish bishops of this period were scenes of great cruelty, in which many good and virtuous persons of both sexes, and of all ages, were condemned to the flames, for reading the New Testament in English, or having it in their possession, or for any thing that indicated that they entertained opinions in religion different from the tenets of the church of Rome. But so much hath been said on this unpleasant subject in the second chapter of this book, that I shall here decline mentioning any particulars. Such readers as wish to be acquainted with those scenes of cruelty and horror, may consult the voluminous work quoted below ²²¹. It is proper to conclude this subject with observing, that the executive government, both in church and state, in the reign of Henry VIII. was exceedingly sanguinary. A prodigious number of people, no fewer it is said than seventy-two thousand, were put to death as criminals in that reign. This account appears to be exaggerated, but the number was certainly very great ²²².

Revenues.

The ordinary stated revenues of the crown of England flowed from the same sources in this as in the three former periods, which need not be again described ²²³. Its extraordinary and less certain revenues were derived from parliamentary grants of tenths and fifteenths, from loans, benevolences, forfeitures, amerciaments, fines, &c. That these

²²¹ Fox's Martyrology.

²²² Hollingsh. p. 186.

²²³ See vol. vi. ch. 3. § 1. vol. x. p. 76—89.

revenues with good management, were sufficient to support the dignity of the crown, and defray all the expences of government, and even to yield a surplus, is evident from the great mass of money that was found in the coffers of Henry VII. at his death, amounting to 1,800,000*l.*, equal, in the quantity and weight of the precious metals, to 2,700,000*l.*, and in real value and efficacy to 8,000,000*l.* of our money at present. All that treasure, the ordinary and extraordinary revenues of the crown, the tenths and first-fruits from the clergy, (which had been formerly paid to the pope,) together with the inestimable spoils of all the religious houses in England, whose value almost exceeded the bounds of calculation, came into the possession of Henry VIII. For the management of this great influx of revenue several new courts were erected; as the court of augmentations, the court of surveyors of the king's lands, the court of first-fruits and tenths²²⁴: and if they had been well-managed they might have made the crown independent of the country, and enabled the king to have reigned for a long time without a parliament. But, fortunately for the people of England, Henry dissipated all those treasures, died poor, and transmitted the crown to his son and successor, as dependent on the people for their supplies in parliament, as at any former period. The wanton, wasteful profusion of princes is always hurtful to themselves, but may accidentally, and in some circumstances, prove beneficial to their subjects,

²²⁴ Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 27—33. c. 39—42. c. 46.

by preventing greater evils. If Henry had been more sagacious, he would have been more dangerous.

SECTION II

History of the Constitution, Government, and Laws of Scotland, from A. D. 1455 to A. D. 1542.

THROUGH Scotland, during a great part of the period we are now considering, was a scene of great confusion, owing to the minorities of the kings, the factions of the nobles, and the wars with England, the cares of government and the execution of the laws were not neglected. On the contrary, greater attention was paid to those important objects, than could have been expected in such unhappy times. Many parliaments were held, in which a variety of wise regulations were made, for bringing criminals to justice, for preventing riots, tumults, and oppressions, and for promoting the peace and prosperity of the country ²²⁵.

No remarkable change was made at this time in the ranks and orders of men in society. The great barons, by the extent of their estates and the number of their followers, still maintained that superior influence which they had long enjoyed, which they often employed for the protection and sometimes for the disturbance of their country, by their feuds and factions. The clergy had great possessions and great power; they were in general good landlords, and did not oppress their tenants, by whom they

²²⁵ See Black Acts, James IV. and V.

were beloved. A few of them had some learning and skill in business, which raised them to the highest offices in the state ; which, with their riches, their luxury, and their pride, excited the envy and hatred of the nobility. Their cruelty to the preachers and professors of the doctrines of the reformation shocked the humanity of the people, who could not help pitying the sufferers and abhorring their persecutors. Their enemies daily increased, and their friends diminished ; and towards the end of this period the mine was dug, which was soon after sprung, and involved them in sudden and irreparable ruin. Merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, when they were injured and oppressed by their too powerful neighbours, sought, and generally found redress and protection from the king's courts, or from parliament, and it was against law to seek it from any other quarter. Several chieftains in Gallaway and Carrick had been accustomed to demand a certain annual payment, called *caupis*, from their poor neighbours for their protection. A complaint of this was brought before parliament, A. D. 1490, and an act was made prohibiting that demand²²⁶. The tenants on the king's lands were by far the happiest, as they were exempted from many services to which others were subjected. The lords and gentlemen in their neighbourhood observing this, were in use to demand, in an authoritative way, certain services from them ; as carriages, shearing, ploughing, &c. Complaint of this was made, to the same parliament, and it was immediately enact-

²²⁶ Black Acts, 2 James IV. c. 35, 36.

ed, "That no lord, baron, or gentleman, should
 "compel any of the king's tenants to do them any
 "service by coercion or dread, under the pain
 "of being punished as oppressors of the king's
 "lieges²²⁷." Whoever will peruse the statutes of
 this period, must perceive that many of them
 breathe a spirit of tenderness and humanity towards
 the common people, that do great honour to the
 legislators, and prove that they were not such fierce
 unfeeling barbarians as they have been sometimes
 represented. Upon the whole, there is sufficient
 evidence that the people of Scotland in those times,
 even in the lowest stations, were not so forlorn and
 unprotected by government, nor government so
 weak and unable to protect them, as hath been
 commonly imagined. James V. in particular, was
 a most strenuous protector of the poor from the
 oppressions of the rich and powerful, which pro-
 cured him the honourable appellation of *the poor
 man's king*.

Authority
 of the
 laws.

The authority of the laws was not only extended
 in this period over all ranks of people, but to the
 most remote extremities of the kingdom, and to
 the northern and western islands, where laws had
 formerly been little known or regarded. In the
 preamble to an act of parliament, A. D. 1503, it
 is observed, "That there had been great abuson
 " [abuse] of justice in the north parts and west
 " parts of the realm; as the North Isles and South
 " Isles, for lack [want] of Justice-aires, justices,
 " and sheriffs, by which the people are almost be-

²²⁷ Black Acts, 2 James IV. c. 38.

" come

“ come wild ²²⁸.” To remedy this great evil, the parliament established justices and sheriffs in Orkney, Caithness, Ross, and the Western Isles, where there had been none before; and appointed justice-aires, or courts of justice, to be held at certain times and places in those remote countries ²²⁹. These new magistrates, it is probable, found no little difficulty in the execution of their offices, among a people unaccustomed to the restraints of law, and haughty chieftains who had formerly been the only judges. To give countenance to his officers, and procure reverence for the laws, James V. a prince of great activity, and zealous in the administration of justice, resolved to visit in person those less civilized parts of his dominions. He sailed from Leith, A. D. 1535, with five stout ships, well-manned, attended by several of his chief nobility. It was given out that he was bound for France. But as soon as he was out of the Firth he changed his course, and sailed along the east, north, and west coasts and islands, to Whithorn in Galloway. In this voyage he frequently landed, inquired into the state of the country, surprised and seized several of the most turbulent chieftains; and sent them to different prisons, where they were detained till they found security for their future good behaviour. By this expedition the king not only gained a more perfect knowledge of the country and its inhabitants, but struck such terror into the heads of the several clans, that they learned to respect

²²⁸ 5 James IV. c. 93.²²⁹ Ibid. c. 94, 95.

the laws, and remained quiet, it is said, for many years ²³⁰.

Gypsies.

The number of those remarkable wanderers called Egyptians, or Gypsies, in Scotland at this time was very considerable, and formed a kind of commonwealth, under a chief of their own nation, called John Faw, lord and earl of Little Egypt. The authority of this Egyptian chieftain over his subjects was supported by government; and James V. published a proclamation, commanding all sheriffs and magistrates to lend him the use of their prisons and stocks whenever he demanded them. That prince also made an agreement or covenant in form with this Egyptian chief; who engaged on his part to carry all his subjects out of Scotland, and conduct them home to their own country of Little Egypt; and the king engaged to furnish him with ships for that purpose. But the earl was not able to fulfil his engagement. Many of his subjects rebelled against him, under the conduct of one of them, named Sebastian Lalow, and refused to return home. This rebellion continued several years, as appears from another proclamation issued A. D. 1553, by James duke of Chatelrault, earl of Arran, &c. governor of Scotland; commanding all sheriffs, magistrates, and other officers, to assist John Faw, earl of Little Egypt, in apprehending his rebellious subjects, (many of whom are named in the proclamation,) and compelling them to obey and follow him into their own country ²³¹. Whether this famous Gypsey, John Faw, was an impostor, or had

²³⁰ Drummond, p. 309.

²³¹ See Appendix.

really

really been the sovereign of a small territory in Egypt, as he pretended, I shall not determine; but his scheme of carrying all the Gypsies out of Scotland certainly miscarried.

We meet with no mention of slaves either in the histories or laws of Scotland in this period; which makes it probable that there were not many, if there were any, of that wretched degraded order of men in that kingdom at this time. Several severe laws had been made in the preceding period for the punishment and suppression of those troublesome people called forners and masterful beggars; and it was found necessary to renew and enforce the laws in the reign of James V. A. D. 1535²³². A very wise regulation was made at the same time for supplying the wants of those who were really poor and unfit for labour. Every parish was to support its own poor, who were to wear badges given them by the headsmen of the parish²³³.

Slaves,
&c.

Such seems to have been the condition of the people in their several ranks, from the highest to the lowest, in the present period. A condition certainly not to be envied by us who live in happier times; but not so piteous and unhappy as it hath been sometimes represented. The high were not too high to be corrected, nor the low too low to be protected, by the laws.

Both James IV. and his son James V. ruled much by parliaments, which they frequently called. James IV. called eight parliaments in twenty-one years, and these assemblies were no less frequent in

Parliaments.

²³² Black Acts 1535, c. 24.

²³³ Ibid.

the

the succeeding reign. In this these princes acted wisely. Their parliaments did them many good offices; and if we may judge by their acts, they neither did, nor intended to do them any injuries, by encroaching on their prerogatives or their revenues. The parliaments of Scotland, it is true, interfered in some things that are not commonly believed to belong to parliaments; such as the marriages of their kings, the appointing ambassadors to foreign courts, and naming commissioners for negotiating truces and treaties of peace. But they did this only during the minorities, or at the desire, of their kings; and they provided for defraying all the expences incurred on these occasions. So full a description hath been already given of the constitution, forms of proceeding, and other circumstances of the parliaments of Scotland in the third chapter of the fifth book of this work, that it is sufficient to refer the reader to that description; as it will suit the parliaments in the present, as well as it suited those in the preceding period ²³⁴. The scheme of Jams I. to divide the parliament into two houses having unhappily miscarried, it was never revived; but the number of freeholders soon became too great to meet in one place, and many of them too poor to afford the expence of attendance. By a law of James II. all freeholders who have not above twenty pounds a year were freed from the obligation of attending parliament ²³⁵. In the reign of James IV. that sum was thought too small, and a law was made to excuse all freeholders who had not above

²³⁴ See book v. c. 3. sect. 2.

²³⁵ James II. act 85.

an hundred marks a year of rent from their personal attendance in parliament, but permitting, or rather requiring them to send a proxy, by some lord or baron of their neighbourhood ²³⁶. Hardly any accounts of the debates in the ancient parliaments of Scotland are preserved, and it is probable they were neither very many nor very long, as our ancestors in those times delighted and excelled more in acting than haranguing. It appears, however, from some hints, that there were debates, and these sometimes very warm. From the records of the parliament A. D. 1524, we plainly perceive that there were very hot debates on chusing the committee *ad articulos*, (on the articles,) between the party of the queen dowager and the party of her husband the earl of Angus, and that several protests were taken on both sides. But the minutes are so short, that it would not be easy to explain the grounds of these debates ²³⁷. We know also that there were very violent debates on the appointment of the duke of Albany to the regency in the minority of James V.; and still more violent debates on the appointment of the earl of Arran to the regency after the death of that king. But few particulars of these debates are preserved.

The right of making and repealing laws, and imposing taxes, resided solely in the king and parliament; and we never hear of any of the kings of Scotland in the times we are now considering, who attempted to make, repeal, or dispense with laws, to impose taxes, or even to demand loans and be-

Making laws, &c.

²³⁶ James IV. act 113.

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²³⁷ Records of Parl. A. D. 1524.

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NEVO-

nevolences from their subjects by their own authority. The laws were called the king's laws; not because the king had made them, but because the execution of them was by the constitution committed to the king. The parliaments of Scotland sometimes set bounds to the undoubted prerogatives of the crown, when they apprehended they were in danger of being improperly exercised. An act was made in the parliament A. D. 1503, that the king should not pardon any who had been found guilty of wilful premeditated murder. But this was done (as appears by the act itself) at the earnest desire of the king, to free him from importunate solicitations, and was to continue in force only till it was recalled by the king²³⁸. No little pains was taken to promulgate the laws and make them known to all the subjects. All sheriffs, provosts, and bailies, were commanded to take copies of the acts of every parliament, and to cause them to be proclaimed in all cities, burghs, and towns within their bounds²³⁹. The justice-clerk was directed to extract all the penal laws, and give copies of them to all the judges and sheriffs²⁴⁰. The acts of James V. were the first that were printed, by Thomas Davidson the king's printer, A. D. 1541, "That all sheriffs, stewarts, "bailies, provosts and bailies of burrows, and other "the king's lieges, might have copies thereof²⁴¹."

Execution
of the
laws.

The best and wisest laws are of little use, if they are not properly executed by intelligent and upright judges. To this important business the government

²³⁸ James IV. act 97.

²⁴⁰ Ibid. act 77.

²³⁹ Ibid. act 60.

²⁴¹ James V. act 108.

of Scotland paid no little attention in the present period. As all sheriffs of shires, stewarts of stewartries, baillies of regalities and baronies, and provosts and baillies in burrows, were commanded to furnish themselves with copies of the laws; so they had a share in the execution of these laws, both civil and criminal, within their respective jurisdictions. Their courts, however, were not supreme, nor their sentences always final, but in many cases subject to be reviewed and reversed by the king's courts and the king's judges. The king and those to whom he delegated that part of his prerogative were the supreme and final judges, from whose sentences there lay no appeal.

The penal laws, or matters of dittay, as they were called, were executed by the high justiciary, or justice-general, whose jurisdiction (except in regalities) was universal. That great officer, his deputies and assessors, held justice-aires, or justice-courts, twice in the year in different parts of the kingdom, for the trial of all within a certain district who were accused of having committed crimes that deserved punishment. These courts were held with great solemnity, attended by all the lords, barons, and gentlemen in the district, and a great concourse of people. The king was sometimes present at these justice-aires, which rendered them more solemn and more effectual. At one of these courts, in May, A. D. 1529, at which the king was present, William Cockburn of Hunderland, and Adam Scot of Tushilaw, two turbulent predatory barons, were condemned and beheaded; the earl of Bothwell,

Justice-aires.

the lords Hume and Maxwell, the lairds of Buccleugh, Fairnhiirst, Polwort, and Johnstone, were imprisoned²⁴². James V. is highly and justly praised for the activity and spirit with which he pursued those who fled from, or resisted the officers of justice. In doing this, it is said, he sometimes spent whole days on horseback, enduring much fatigue, and exposing himself to no little danger. In one of these expeditions he apprehended and hanged no fewer than forty of the banditti on the borders, who had often endangered the peace of the two kingdoms, by their incursions into England, as well as plundered their fellow-subjects. Among others, their leader, John Armstrong of Giltknockhall, who had laid the north of England for many miles under contribution, was seized and hanged, though he offered a great sum of money for his life. These examples struck such terror into the other lawless people of those parts, that they either fled or remained quiet, and the country for some time enjoyed so much safety, that it became a common saying, *the rush-bush keeps the cow*.

There were now, and there had long been, several courts in Scotland for executing the civil laws respecting property, and determining disputes between subject and subject; as the sheriff's court, the regality and barony courts, and the baillie's court in burrows. But the jurisdiction of all these courts was confined within narrow limits; none of them was of sufficient dignity, nor the judges who presided in them sufficiently learned and respect-

²⁴² Buchan. lib. xiv.

able, to be trusted with the decision of disputes of great importance between persons of high rank, or even with the final determination of matters of less moment. At all times, therefore, a court of supreme authority and universal jurisdiction was necessary. Such was anciently the *aula regis*, or king's court, not only in Scotland, but in all the other kingdoms of Europe. This was the great regality court of the whole kingdom, in which the king presided, the great officers of the crown were the judges, and all who held their lands immediately of the crown were suitors. This court sat in the hall of the king's palace; its authority was supreme; its jurisdiction was universal; and it received appeals from all inferior courts²⁴³. The greatness of this court, the multiplicity of its functions, with the incapacity and aversion of its members to perform them, occasioned its decline and fall before the commencement of our present period.

To supply the place of this great court, several Courts, other courts were established, in succession, by the king and parliament. The first of these, called the Session, was erected in the reign of James I. A. D. 1425, and hath been already described²⁴⁴. But this court was soon found to be defective; and several attempts were made to amend it in the two succeeding reigns, but to little purpose. One of the great defects of the court called the Session is thus described in the preamble to the act of parliament for abolishing it A. D. 1503: "There hath

²⁴³ Du Change Gloss. voce *Curia*.

²⁴⁴ James I. act 72, 73, 74, 75. See vol. x. p. 104.

“ been great confusion of summons at every session, so that leisure and space at a proper time of the year could not be had for ending them, and the poor people are delayed from year to year, through which they wanted justice ⁴⁴⁵.” To remedy this and other inconveniencies, another court was erected by the same act, called the daily Council, which was to sit constantly at Edinburgh, or where the king resided or appointed, “ to decide all manner of summons in civil matters, complaints, and causes daily, as they should happen to occur; and that the judges should have the same power with the lords of session ⁴⁴⁶.” But though this new court remedied some of the defects of the former, it was found to be in other respects equally ineffectual. Its judges had no fixed salaries; and not being bound to attendance by any penalties, they attended so ill, that very often a competent number of judges could not be collected to carry on the business of the court ⁴⁴⁷. Political arrangements, though they may appear feasible in speculation, sometimes contain defects, which nothing but experience can discover.

Papal bull. Complaints against the daily council being loud when John duke of Albany arrived in Scotland and took upon him the government, that wise prince formed the plan of a supreme court of a greater dignity, efficacy, and stability, which it is probable he copied from the parliament of Paris, with which he was well acquainted. He was sensible that such

⁴⁴⁵ James IV. act 92.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Lord Kaimes's Law Tracts, p. 268.

a court could not be established on solid grounds, without a competent fund for the salaries of its judges and other members. The dignified clergy were by far the richest body of men in the kingdom, in proportion to their numbers; and the duke proposed to procure some of their superfluous wealth, as a fund for this intended establishment. With this view he directed his ambassador at the court of Rome to represent to the pope, (who was then considered as the sovereign of all the clergy, and the guardian of all the revenues of the church,) that his most obedient son, James king of Scots, designed to establish a college of justice, composed of honourable and learned men, to administer justice to his subjects, and to petition his holiness to grant the king a sum of money annually out of the revenues of the prelates of his kingdom, for the support of his intended college. To render his scheme more palatable to the pope and clergy, the duke agreed that one half of the senators or judges in his new college should always be clergymen. The pope did not grant this petition till after the duke of Albany had left Scotland and was deprived of the regency. But at length the perplexed state of affairs in Germany and England made both the pope and the clergy more willing to gratify the king of Scotland; and Clement VII., by a bull, A. D. 1531, granted him twelve thousand ducats of gold a year out of the revenues of the archbishops, abbots, and priors of his kingdom, for the use of his intended college of justice²⁴⁸.

²⁴⁸ See the bull in Keith, Append. p. 74.

College of
justice.

Soon after this bull was brought to Scotland a parliament met at Edinburgh May 17th, A. D. 1532; to which the king communicated his intention “to institute ane college of cunning and wise men, baith of spiritual and temporal estate, for doing and administration of justice in all civil actions; and therefore thinks to be chosen certain persons most convenient and qualified therefore to the number of fourteen persons, half spiritual, half temporal, with ane president.” The king further desired the parliament to authorise these fifteen persons to sit and decide upon all civil actions²⁴⁹. The parliament approved of the intended institution, ratified and confirmed it, and gave the sentence and decreets of the new court all the strength, force, and effect that the decreets of the lords of session had in all times bygone; *i. e.* that they could be reviewed and reversed only by parliament. At the desire of the king, the parliament also named the fifteen first senators of the college of justice, or lords of council and session, as this new court was called. If the king by his prerogative could have instituted this court and appointed the judges, he certainly acted with great condescension in referring the whole to parliament. But as parliament was in use to name the lords of session, it was perhaps thought that they had a right to name the judges of that court that was substituted in its place. The king appointed the lord chancellor, and the abbot of Cambuskenneth president of the new court, to administer the oaths

²⁴⁹ James V. Parl. A. D. 1532.

to the other lords; and directed the whole of the judges to spend the next eight days in forming rules for regulating their future proceedings, and to begin to hear causes on the Monday following. The rules were first approved and subscribed by the king, and afterwards confirmed by parliament; but they are too numerous to be here inserted, and many of them have been since changed²⁵⁰. By such steps, and with such deliberation, was the supreme court of the council and session established. It hath long flourished, and still continues to flourish, much improved in the extent of its jurisdiction, the multiplicity and variety of its business, and the learning of its judges.

This court at its establishment appears to have been a great favourite of James V. who granted it a charter, dated at Stirling June 10th, A. D. 1532; in which he expressed his approbation of the institution in the strongest terms; promised to protect the persons, fortunes, and honours of the judges, and to punish severely such as attempted to injure them in any of these respects, or presumed to treat them with contempt. He granted them also an exemption from all taxes, contributions, and other extraordinary charges in all time to come, and from bearing any office or charge, but with their own free will and consent²⁵¹. This exemption was probably granted to the judges of this new court on account of the smallness of their salaries, which are not indeed mentioned in this charter; but from the scantiness of the funds we may conclude they

Charter.

²⁵⁰ Black Acts James V. fol. 53—57.

²⁵¹ Ibid. fol. 57.

could

could not be great. By two of the regulations above mentioned, for directing the future proceedings of this new court, we are informed that ten gentlemen were named by the judges to be advocates, and appointed to plead causes before them; and that the judges at the same time regulated the fees of the writers to the signet²⁵²: but neither the advocates nor the writers to the signet are mentioned in the charter of exemption from taxes and offices; and it doth not clearly appear whether they were then considered as members of the college of justice, or only as necessary appendages to the court, and nurseries for the bench.

As one half of the ordinary lords or judges of this court, at its first institution, were clergymen, and the other half laymen, and the president was a clergyman, the clergy had a majority of one on the bench. To counterbalance this the chancellor had a seat and vote when he pleased, and presided when he was present; and the king had a power (which he exercised) of appointing three or four noblemen to be extraordinary lords, and to have seats and votes with the other judges, but no salaries²⁵³. Ten other judges and the president were a quorum²⁵⁴.

Nobile of-
ficium.

The court of council and session was for some time very popular, and gave universal content²⁵⁵. The judges acted with great modesty, caution, and even diffidence. When a cause came before them that appeared perplexed and difficult, instead of determining it themselves, they referred it to par-

²⁵² Black Acts James V. fol. 56.

²⁵³ Ibid. fol. 53.

²⁵⁴ Ibid. fol. 55.

²⁵⁵ Buchan. lib. xiv. p. 273.

liament

liament for a decision ²⁵⁶. By degrees, however, they acquired more courage and greater confidence in their own abilities and powers. When a case occurred to which none of the existing laws applied, or when applied led to a rigorous oppressive sentence, they no longer referred it to parliament, but ventured to determine it themselves, by what appeared to them agreeable to the rules of natural equity and justice. The authority by which they did this, at first had no name, but it came afterwards to be called their *nobile officium*; which, it was said, was essential to every supreme court, to enable it to do material justice; and that it was peculiarly necessary to the supreme court of Scotland, in which there was no separate court of equity as in England. Though all this seems to be reasonable, and it is to be hoped that this *nobile officium* hath been generally used for the benefit of individuals and of the public, the first appearance of it was very unpopular, and excited violent clamours, that the property of the people of Scotland was at the mercy of fifteen men, who determined every thing by their arbitrary will and pleasure ²⁵⁷. But this change and these clamours did not take place till after the conclusion of the present period.

To render this establishment still more firm, if possible, king James solicited and obtained a bull of confirmation of his college of justice from pope Paul III. dated at Rome March 31st, A. D. 1535. By this bull the pope not only confirmed, in the most solemn manner, the twelve thousand ducats

Papal bull,

²⁵⁶ Black Acts James V. fol. 74,

²⁵⁷ Buchan. p. 273.

formerly

formerly granted by the clergy, but he also gave the king a power to appropriate to the support of his college certain benefices in the gift of the crown as they became vacant, to the amount of two hundred pounds sterling a year. Further, to please the king, and to shew his favour to his institution, he exempted the president and fourteen ordinary lords, their clerks, notaries, advocates, and other officers, (who appear to have been now considered as members of the college of justice,) from the jurisdiction and visitation of all archbishops, bishops, and other prelates, and took them under the immediate protection of the holy see²⁵⁸. Thus was this institution fenced and guarded by every security, spiritual and temporal, that could possibly be devised.

Prerogatives of the crown.

The prerogatives of the crown of Scotland were the same in this as in the preceding periods. But these prerogatives were never very distinctly ascertained, very firmly established, or very uniformly exercised. They varied with the circumstance of the kingdom and the characters of the kings; and they were interrupted and diminished by frequent and long minorities, during which the reins of government were much relaxed. It is sufficient therefore to say, that Scotland was a limited monarchy, and that its princes were bound by the constitution and by their coronation oaths to govern according to the laws, and by the advice of their parliaments. In particular, it appears to have been a fixed principle, that they could not

²⁵⁸ Keith's Append. p. 75.

make

make or repeal any law, nor impose any taxes on their subjects, without the consent of the three estates. The vassals of the crown with their followers cheerfully attended the royal standard whenever they were called for the defence of their country ; but they sometimes hesitated, and even refused, and could not be compelled to pass the borders and invade England. This was a constitutional, and often a salutary restraint on the ambition and martial ardour of their kings, which gave them great offence, but to which they were obliged to submit.

The kings of Scotland in this period were undoubtedly poor princes in proportion to the kings of France and England, who were at the head of much larger and more opulent kingdoms ; but they were not poor in proportion to their own dominions, to the circumstances of their subjects, and to their necessary expenditure. Nor was there any nation in Europe that discovered a greater desire to support their princes in a manner suitable to their rank than the Scots. In the records of all the parliaments of this period an extreme anxiety appears to preserve, improve, and increase the revenues of the crown ; and many acts were made for these purposes, some of which will be hereafter mentioned.

The stated hereditary revenues which the kings of Scotland derived from the immediate vassals of the crown, were of the same kind with those of every other feudal kingdom, and particularly with those of England, which have been already described in the third chapter of the third book of this work, to which description (to prevent repetitions) the reader

reader is referred to. These revenues, therefore, bore the same proportion to their dominions with those of other princes. Besides these, they derived revenues from various other sources; as from the customs, on all commodities exported and imported; from the royal mines, which were then valuable, and were wrought by people from Germany; from the revenues of vacant bishoprics, abbeys, and priories; from forfeitures and escheats of various kinds; from the estates of lunatics, and the goods of convicts; from fines and amerciaments for trespasses and delinquencies of many different kinds; for money paid for grants of liberties, immunities, and privileges, to towns and corporations; from wrecks,* waifs, estrays, treasure-trove, &c. &c. Some of these revenues were small, but when they were accumulated they were considerable, and they bore still the same proportion to the extent and circumstances of their dominions with those of the same kind in other countries.

Crown
lands.

But the lands that were unalienably annexed to the crown, and were from time to time receiving great additions, afforded the greatest revenues to the kings of Scotland at this time; and over these the parliament watched with as much attention to preserve, improve, and increase them, as any proprietor watched over his own estate. It was a fixed principle to which the parliaments of Scotland steadily adhered, that the lands of the crown could not be legally and irrecoverably alienated, without the consent of the three estates; and that if a king

* See vol. vi. ch. iii. p. 34—42.

granted

granted any of these lands without such consent, it was an illegal deed, which might and ought to be revoked. These lands were considered as the estate of the nation, of which the reigning king was the usufructuary, and the three estates were the guardians²⁶⁰. These were the undoubted principles of the constitution. They were often indeed violated, but never forgotten. Favourites prevailed upon kings to grant them portions of the crown lands, but these grants were never secure; they were soon discovered by the vigilance, and revoked by the authority of parliament. Of these revocations we meet with two or three in every reign²⁶¹. Parliament even took measures to prevent kings from giving, and courtiers from soliciting such grants. A very remarkable law was made on this subject in the reign of James II. A. D. 1454.* In the preamble to that law it is observed, “That the poverty
 “ of the crown is oft-times the cause of the poverty
 “ of the realm, and of many other inconveniencies.” To prevent these it is statute and ordained in full parliament, “That in every part of the realm, for
 “ the king’s residence, there be certain lordships
 “ and castles annexed to the crown, perpetually to
 “ remain, which may not be given away in fee and
 “ heritage or franktenement to any person, of what
 “ estate or degree that ever he be, without the ad-
 “ vice, deliverance, and decreet of the whole par-
 “ liament, and for great and reasonable causes of

²⁶⁰ Stat. James I. act 10. 143. James II. act 2. 3. 43. James III. act 86, 87. James IV. act 24. 41. 82. James V. act 40. 54. 96.

²⁶¹ Black Acts passim.

“ the realm.” The act then declares all grants of annexed lands null and void; that they may be revoked without any law-process, and that those who have enjoyed any of these lands by virtue of such grants, shall refund all the profits they had reaped from them. It is further enacted, “ That our sovereign lord that now is, be sworn, and in like manner all his successors, kings of Scotland, at their coronation, to the keeping of this statute, and all the points thereof^{a62}.” It seems to have been impossible for parliament to have taken more effectual precautions to prevent the alienation of the crown lands, than those contained in this act, which certainly had its effect for a considerable length of time, especially as it was revived and confirmed by several subsequent acts.

Annexations.

The crown lands received great additions from time to time, by forfeitures, reversions, and some other ways; and parliament took care to annex these additional lands firmly to the crown soon after they came into the king's hands, to prevent their alienation. Of this we meet with several examples in the monuments of those times; the most remarkable of which is that great annexation made by a parliament at Edinburgh, A. D. 1540, of the lands that had been forfeited by the earl of Angus and his partisans, by sir James Hamilton, and many others. By this one act all the following lordships, lands, and castles were annexed to the crown in the strictest manner: “ The lands and lordship of all the isles, south and north; the two Kintyres,

^{a62} James II. act 43.

“ with

“ with their castles and pertinents; the lands and
 “ lordships of Orkney, Zetland, with the isles
 “ pertaining thereto, and their pertinents; the
 “ lands and lordship of Douglas, with the castle,
 “ tower, and fortalice thereof, donations, and advo-
 “ cations of kirks and benefices, and their pertinents;
 “ the lands and lordships of Crawford-John and
 “ Crawford-Lindsay; the lands and lordships of
 “ Bonkill, Preston, and Tomtallon, with towers,
 “ fortalices, rents, donations, and advocations of
 “ kirks; the lands of Dunfire; the lands and
 “ lordship of Jedburgh-forest; the lands and
 “ lordship of Kerrymure, with all their perti-
 “ nents; the superiority of all the earldom of An-
 “ gus; and all other lands, rents, and possessions
 “ which pertained to Archibald some time earl of
 “ Angus, the time of the said earl’s forfeiture, and
 “ now in our sovereign lord’s hands by reason
 “ thereof; the lands and lordship of Glamis that
 “ are not holden of the kirk; the lands of Baky,
 “ Balmutus, Tannades, Drumgleas, Longforgund,
 “ and Bathilweis, with the towers, fortalices, advo-
 “ cations, and donations of kirks, and their perti-
 “ nents; the lands of Racklewch, Whitecampt,
 “ Over and Nether Howclewch; the lands and
 “ barony of Ivendale, with the tower and forta-
 “ lices thereof, advocations and donations of
 “ kirks, &c.; the lands and lordship of Liddisdale,
 “ with the castle of Hermitage, avocation and
 “ donation, and their pertinents; the lands and
 “ lordship of Bothwel, with the tower, fortalice,
 Vol. XII. O “ and

“and their pertinents²⁶³.” This was an immense addition to the land-estate of the crown, already very great.

The parliaments of Scotland not only paid attention to the preservation and increase of the crown lands, but also to the faithful collection of their rents, and the improvement of their annual value. For the first of these purposes, they sometimes chose certain noblemen of the first rank, in different parts of the kingdom, to superintend the collection of the king's rents in their respective districts²⁶⁴. For the second, they made a law permitting James V. to feu a part of his lands, annexed and unannexed, upon condition that he received an advanced rent²⁶⁵. But this law was to continue in force only during that king's life.

When parliaments discovered so much solicitude to support the dignity of the crown, the kings of Scotland could not be poor, in proportion to their necessary expenditure, which is the most material circumstance. A prince with great revenues, whose expences are still greater, is really poor; and a prince with comparatively small revenues, whose expences are still smaller, is really rich. This last was the situation of the kings of Scotland in this period. Their revenues were small when compared to those of the kings of France and England; but their necessary expenditure was smaller, when compared to that of these two princes. The kings of Scotland could form no ambitious projects of

²⁶³ James V. act 54. 75.

²⁶⁴ James IV. act 26.

²⁶⁵ James V. act 97.

conquest,

conquest, with which these other princes were almost constantly inflamed, and on which they exhausted their treasures, as well as the blood of their subjects. The civil government of Scotland was so constituted, that it cost the kings very little. The supreme court cost them nothing: they had no standing army of their own subjects to support, and they hired no foreign mercenaries. Wars, which were so burthensome to the kings of France and England, put the kings of Scotland to very little expence. They had no wars but with England, which were either defensive, or sudden predatory incursions. When their country was invaded, all the vassals of the crown, with their followers, and even all the subjects who were able to bear arms, were obliged to attend the royal standard, to repel the invaders at their own expence. The predatory incursions were undertaken by martial chieftains and bold adventurers, from the desire of revenge, or the hopes of booty, sometimes with and sometimes without the king's permission, but never at his expence. The kings of Scotland were not even at the expence of the ambassadors sent to England, France, Denmark, and other courts. That expence was defrayed by a small tax imposed by parliament²⁶⁶. In a word, the revenues of the crown of Scotland were chiefly intended for supporting the king's court and household in a manner suitable to the royal dignity, and

²⁶⁶ James II. act 31. James III. act 62. 90. 126. James IV. act 22. 45, 46. 72.

for that purpose they were more than sufficient. Accordingly these princes married into the greatest families in Europe ; had magnificent palaces, numerous attendants, and lived with splendor and in affluence. They never complained of the scantiness of their revenues : they never applied to parliament for supplies, or for the payment of their debts : they never once attempted to extort a farthing from their subjects, by loans, benevolences, and other oppressive arts, which were so often employed by the greatest princes in Europe their contemporaries. They were under no necessity of employing such arts.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER IV.

History of Learning, of learned Men, and of the chief Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

IT was only a very brief account of the state of learning and of the several sciences in every period, that was promised in the plan of this work in the preface prefixed to the first volume²⁶⁷. This was all that could with any propriety be introduced into general history. To have attempted to give regular extended systems of every science in every period, would have been a most preposterous absurd attempt. Such systems would have been useless

Account
of the
sciences
short.

²⁶⁷ See the General Preface, p. xxi.

and unnecessary to the learned, and tedious and disgusting to the bulk of readers; would have quite destroyed the symmetry of this work, and swelled every fourth chapter to an enormous size. What was proposed in the plan is thus expressed: "It is only designed to lay before the reader a clear and concise account of the general state of each science; its decline or progress; its most remarkable defects and most important improvements. This is all that falls within the province of general history on subjects of this nature; all that can be universally useful and agreeable, or reasonably desired and expected in a work of this kind²⁴³." Though such brief accounts of the general state of learning may be of little use to the learned in literary history, they may be both instructive and entertaining to many other readers, who have neither leisure nor inclination to peruse more voluminous works on these subjects. They may contribute also to diffuse the fame of those ingenious men who have done honour to their country by their learned labours, and enriched it with the stores of useful knowledge.

A dark
period.
9

The morning of that auspicious day which succeeded that long night of ignorance in which almost all Europe had been involved from the fall of the western empire, had already dawned on Italy, and some other parts of the continent, but had not yet reached this little sequestered world of Britain. While learning was reviving in some other countries, it was languishing and declining in this island;

²⁴³ See the General Preface, p. xxi.

and

and the period that immediately preceded the present was here one of the darkest and most illiterate²⁶⁹. In every former period, the darkest not excepted, some extraordinary men arose; as the venerable Bede, Alfred the Great, Roger Bacon, doctor Wickliff, &c. who, by the force of their genius and application, dissipated, in some degree, the gloom with which they were surrounded, and rendered their names immortal. But in the fifteenth century there was not so much as one man in Britain who acquired, or indeed deserved, a very extensive or permanent reputation by his writings.

But our present period presents us with a more agreeable prospect. A better taste, and a greater esteem and love of learning were introduced, and became gradually more general and more ardent. That we may have a distinct view of this happy change, which hath been productive of so much innocent and rational pleasure to individuals, and of so many benefits to society, it will be proper to give a brief account, 1. Of the sciences that were most successfully cultivated: 2. Of the most learned men who flourished: and, 3. Of the principal seminaries of learning that were founded in Britain in the present period.

Plan of
the chap-
ter.

²⁶⁹ See vol. x. c. 4. last. 1.

S E C T. I.

A brief Account of the Sciences that were most successfully cultivated in Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

Obstruc-
tions to
learning.

GREAT industry, and an enthusiastic attachment to literary pursuits, were as necessary as genius to the revivers of learning. They had many difficulties to encounter, and few things to animate and encourage them in their labours. Books were still very scarce and dear. The art of printing had been introduced into England a few years before. But the first productions of the English press were very poor performances, and contributed very little to the improvement of taste or revival of learning. Honest William Caxton, instead of printing the Latin and Greek classics in their original languages, with which he was unacquainted, printed his own degrading translations of some of them from French translations, no less degrading, which could give their readers no ideas of their beauties. Instructors were still scarcer than books. The path was untrodden, and guides could not be procured. Learning was not yet become the road to preferment. The nobility in general were illiterate, and despised, rather than patronised, learning and learned men. "It is enough (said a nobleman to Richard Pace, secretary to Henry VIII.) for noblemen's sons to wind their horn and carry their hawk fair, and leave study and learning to the children of mean people."

“people”.” Henry VII. was neither a learned nor a generous prince. He employed indeed several clergymen in his affairs, not on account of their uncommon learning, but of their skill in business and dexterity in negotiations, and to save his money, by rewarding them with benefices instead of salaries. After the reformation had commenced in Germany, and many began to favour it in Britain, those who deviated from the beaten track in their studies were suspected of heresy, and discouraged and persecuted on that account. But notwithstanding this, a number of ingenious and industrious men appeared in this period, who surmounted all these difficulties; and by their example, their exhortations, and the beauty and elegance of their writings, brought a better kind of learning into reputation, and gave a happy turn to the taste and studies of the age.

No province of literature was cultivated with so much care and success by the revivers of learning in the present period, as philology, or the accurate knowledge of languages, particularly of the Latin and Greek classics. The neglect into which the works of the philosophers, poets, and historians of Greece and Rome had fallen, was one great cause of the decline of learning, and of the bad taste and barbarism of the middle ages. The revivers of learning, therefore, acted wisely in beginning its revival, by removing one of the great causes of its decline. By acquiring a correct and critical knowledge of the language, style, and manner of those

Latin language.

excellent writers, they obtained two great advantages; they had access to all the stores of wisdom and eloquence their writings contained, and to all the pleasure their perusal could afford; and by imitating such beautiful models, they acquired the art of communicating their own thoughts to the world in a perspicuous, elegant, and pleasing manner. In this art some of the revivers of learning, both in Britain and on the continent, succeeded to admiration, and wrote in Latin with a classical purity not unbecoming the Augustan age²⁷¹. The success, exhortations, and example, of those eminent men, and of many others, brought the study of the Latin language into fashion; the barbarous jargon formerly used was despised; and to be able to speak and write pure and classical Latin, was considered as a valuable, and even a polite accomplishment, to which persons of high rank and of both sexes aspired. To assist youth in the acquisition of this accomplishment, the greatest scholars of the age, as Erasmus, Linacer, sir John Cheke, and many others, did not disdain to spend their time in writing rudiments, grammars, vocabularies, colloquies, and other books. The haughty monarch Henry VIII., and his no less haughty minister cardinal Wolsey, stooped to employ their pens in writing instructions to youth in the study of this favourite language. The king, it is said, wrote a treatise *de instituendâ pube*, and an Introduction to Grammar; and the cardinal composed a system of

²⁷¹ Sir Thomas More, doctor Linacer, William Lilly, George Buchannan, &c. &c.

instructions

instructions to be observed by the masters in the school he founded at Ipswich, his native town²⁷². The cardinal had been a schoolmaster, and was well qualified for giving these instructions, which are equally sensible and particular. James IV. of Scotland was a great admirer of a pure and classical style in writing Latin, and a zealous promoter of the study of that language. His own letters are written with greater purity and elegance than those of any other prince in Europe²⁷³. He put his natural son, Alexander archbishop of Saint Andrew's, a most ingenious youth, under the care of the great Erasmus; and he procured an act of parliament to be made, A. D. 1496, "obliging all "barons and freeholders that are of substance, to "put their eldest sons to the grammar schools at "eight or nine years of age, to remain there till "they were competently founded, and had perfect "Latin²⁷⁴." In a word, the Roman classics were now studied with so much diligence, and the capacity of imitating their style and manner was so much valued, that the sixteenth century may very properly be called *seculum Latinum*, the Latin age.

The restorers of learning found much greater difficulty in acquiring the knowledge of the Greek language themselves, and in persuading others that the knowledge of it was either necessary or useful. That copious and beautiful language, in which so

Greek language.

²⁷² Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, p. 8, 9. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 223. Ibid. Appendix, No. 35.

²⁷³ Epistolæ Regum Scotorum, vol. i.

²⁷⁴ James IV. act. 87.

many

many of the philosophers, poets, historians, and orators of antiquity had written, was almost quite unknown in Britain in the beginning of this period. The celebrated Erasmus of Rotterdam, the most zealous and successful restorer of learning, came into England A. D. 1497, and went to Oxford with a design to teach Greek; but he met with much opposition and little encouragement. Many both of the secular and regular clergy declaimed against him in the schools, and even in the pulpit, with great bitterness. They railed particularly against his Greek New Testament, as a most impious and dangerous book²⁷⁵. He continued, however, to teach there a considerable time, encouraged by a few ingenious men, who gladly received his instructions, and afterwards communicated them to others, by which a taste for the study of the Greek language was gradually excited, not only among the youth, but in some members of the university who were far advanced in life. In this, however, little progress was made for several years, owing to the unhappy state of the university, which was frequently visited and dispersed by the sweating-sickness, distracted by riots, and disgraced by the general ignorance and profligacy of its members²⁷⁶.

The accession of Henry VIII. was an event favourable to learning, for which he had a taste, and in which he had made some proficiency. He was at the same time rich and generous, and fond of praise, which made many entertain hopes that he would

²⁷⁵ A. Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 237.

²⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 240.

prove a liberal patron to men of literary merit. On this event the lord Mountjoy, who was a great admirer and had been a pupil of Erasmus, pressed him to come into England; promising him the patronage of the king, of Warham archbishop of Canterbury, and of other great men. He complied with the invitation, and arrived in London A. D. 1509. After spending some time with his friend sir Thomas More, he went to Cambridge, with a design to promote the interest of learning, and particularly the study of the Greek tongue, which had been as much neglected in that as in the other university. But though he was patronised by the chancellor, Fisher bishop of Rochester, and appointed professor of Greek, he had little success, and found the academicians of Cambridge as ignorant and averse to study as those of Oxford. He explained the grammar of Chrysostoras to a few poor scholars, who could give him little or nothing for his labour; and his expences far exceeded his gains²⁷⁷. So difficult was it to rouse the students of those times from that lethargy into which they had fallen, and to correct the bad taste they had contracted.

The dissension between the friends and enemies of the Greek language and learning at Oxford did not terminate when Erasmus left that university. On the contrary, they were formed into two parties; one of which was called the Greeks, and the other the Trojans. As the Trojans were the most numerous, (almost all the monks being true Trojans,) they were the most insolent. When a poor

Greeks
and Tro-
jans.

²⁷⁷ Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. i. p. 37.

Greek

Greek appeared on the street, or in any public place, he was attacked by the Trojans with hisses, taunts, and insults of all kinds. But the triumphs of the Trojans were not of long duration. The king and his great favourite cardinal Wolsey having warmly espoused the cause of the Greeks, their numbers, their credit, and their courage daily increased, the Greek language became a favourite study, and the Trojans were obliged to quit the field ²⁷⁸.

But after the study of the Greek language had become fashionable, a controversy about the true pronunciation of it arose between sir John Cheke, professor of Greek at Cambridge, and Stephen Gardner, chancellor of that university and bishop of Winchester. This controversy (a minute account of which cannot be introduced into general history) was conducted with great modesty and learning by the professor, who proved by many arguments, that the pronunciation which had been introduced in the dark ages was absurd and faulty in many respects; and in particular, that by giving the same sound to several different letters, it destroyed the beauty, variety, and musical sweetness of the language, which were restored by the new pronunciation. To all this the haughty chancellor replied by a thundering decree, denouncing very severe censures on all who dared to drop the old, and adopt the new pronunciation ²⁷⁹. On this

²⁷⁸ A. Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 246.

²⁷⁹ Stype's Life of Sir John Cheke, p. 17, &c. His Memorials, vol. i. p. 372.

occasion reason proved too strong for mere authority. The decree was soon disregarded, and the new pronunciation prevailed, and still prevails. Thus in the space of about thirty years a great change was brought about in the state of learning and the taste of the learned in Britain, by the labours of a few active and ingenious men, in opposition to inveterate habits, strong prejudices, and the indolence, ignorance, dissolute manners, and bad taste that had long reigned in the seminaries of learning, and were not easily overcome. The Roman and Greek classics, which had been long neglected, and almost forgotten, were studied with the greatest ardour and success; and their style and manner admirably well imitated by several British as well as foreign writers in this period²²⁰. Some attempts were made to revive the study of the Hebrew, but not with the same success.

The patronage and liberality of the great contributed no less than the labours of the learned to the revival of learning; nor was there in those times a more liberal patron of learning and learned men than the famous cardinal Wolfey. This extraordinary man had a genius and taste for learning, in which he had made great proficiency in his youth, and for which he retained a regard in his highest elevation. "Politer learning," says Erasmus, "as yet struggling with the patrons of the ancient ignorance, he upheld by his favour, defended by his authority, adorned by his splen-

Wolfey a
patron of
learning.

²²⁰ See the Works of More, Buchanan, Cheke, Linacer, Collet, &c. &c.

“ dour, and cherished by his kindness. He invited
 “ all the most learned professors by his noble sa-
 “ laries. In furnishing libraries with all kinds of
 “ authors, of good learning, he contended with
 “ Ptolemeus Philadelphus himself, who was more
 “ famous for this than for his kingdom. He recalled
 “ the three learned languages, without which all
 “ learning is lame ²²¹.” That all this was not flattery
 is certain. When the cardinal visited Oxford A. D.
 1514, he founded no fewer than seven lectures;
viz. in theology, civil law, physic, philosophy,
 mathematics, Greek, and rhetoric; and chose the
 most learned men he could procure to read those
 lectures ²²². He at the same time intimated his
 intention of doing much greater things for the ho-
 nour of the university and the advancement of
 learning, which he executed in part, and, to his
 unpeakable sorrow, was prevented from executing
 fully, by his unexpected fall.

Schoolmen
 despised,

The time and thoughts of the restorers of learn-
 ing in our present period were so much engaged in
 the study of the *belles lettres*, that they could not
 pay the same attention to the sciences. These
 remained nearly in the same low and wretched state
 (a very few excepted) in which they had been in
 the three preceding periods. The philosophic age
 was not yet arrived. It would be very improper
 therefore to encumber the pages of general history
 with a dry detail of the trivial changes that were
 now made in logic, metaphysics, natural and moral,

²²¹ Erasmus Epist. lib. vi. ep. 27.

²²² Biographia Britan-
 nica Wolfey. A. Wood, Hist. Univer. Oxon. lib. i. p. 250.

philo-

philosophy, arithmetic, mathematics, astronomy, &c. No genius, art, or industry could render such a detail either instructive or entertaining²²³. The logic, metaphysics, and philosophy of the schools, which were in high reputation in the beginning of this period, gradually declined as a better taste prevailed; and as the language of the philosophers of Greece and Rome came to be better understood, and their works more generally perused, the barbarous jargon, unintelligible subtilties, endless distinctions, and ponderous works of the schoolmen, came to be neglected and despised. Their volumes, which had been once highly prized and diligently studied, began to be treated with great contempt, and put to the most ignominious uses. The commissioners who were appointed to visit the university of Oxford A. D. 1535, wrote thus to the lord Cromwell: "We have set Dunce in Bocardo, and
 " have utterly banished him Oxford for ever, with
 " all his blind glosses; and he is now made a com-
 " mon servant to every man, fast nailed up upon
 " posts in all common houses of easement. The
 " second time we came to New College, after we
 " had declared your injunctions, we found all
 " the great quadrant court full of the leaves of
 " Dunce, (*Johannes Duns Scotus*,) the wind blow-
 " ing them into every corner²²⁴." The works of the other schoolmen no doubt shared the same fate, those of Thomas Aquinas perhaps excepted, as he was the king's favourite author.

²²³ See vol. vi. c. 4. sect. 1.—vol. viii. and x. c. 4. sect. 1.

²²⁴ Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 210. A. Wood, lib. i. p. 260.

School divinity.

The theology of the schoolmen received as severe a blow, and underwent as great a change at this time, as their philosophy; and the study of the languages, particularly the Greek, contributed as much to the one as to the other. In the beginning of this period very few theologians understood the original languages either of the Old or New Testament, or made the scriptures their study. The Bible-divines had been gradually decreasing in their credit and in their numbers from the thirteenth century, and in the fifteenth they were almost quite extinct ²⁸⁵. The professors of divinity read lectures only on the sentences of Peter Lombard, or on the summs, as they were called, of other schoolmen. But when the study of the Greek language began to prevail, in the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century, several of the clergy applied to that study, and became acquainted with the New Testament in the original; of which an edition was published by Erasmus A. D. 1515 ²⁸⁶. But these studies were thought to be dangerous, and were discouraged by the great body of the clergy, as tending to make those who applied to them heretics. It soon appeared that they had that tendency, and that they paved the way for the reformation that followed. The taste, however, that several ingenious men had contracted for this new learning, as it was called, was so strong, that they were not deterred by reproaches, threats, and dangers, from communicating the knowledge they had acquired, and recommending the same

²⁸⁵ See vol. viii. ch. 4. sect. 1.

²⁸⁶ *Erasm. Epist.* 181.

... studies

studies to others. Doctor John Collet, the founder of St. Paul's school, and one of the most zealous revivers of learning, read public lectures at Oxford A. D. 1497, on St. Paul's Epistles, without fee or reward. These lectures excited great curiosity, and were attended by crowded audiences; but the lecturer was soon interrupted, by an accusation of heresy that was brought against him before archbishop Warham, who had so great an esteem for him, on account of his virtue and learning, that he discouraged the prosecution, and suffered him to escape²⁸⁷. After Doctor Collet was appointed dean of St. Paul's A. D. 1505, he preached every Sunday in that cathedral, in an uncommon strain of eloquence; boldly condemning the cold unaffected manner in which the clergy in general read their sermons; the worship of images; the celibacy of the clergy; and several superstitious ceremonies of the church. He encouraged his friend William Grocine, another of the revivers of learning, to read lectures on the New Testament in St. Paul's, which were well attended and much admired²⁸⁸. These sermons and lectures, and others of the same kind, together with the writings of Erasmus and the other revivers of learning, diminished the reputation of scholastic divinity, and excited in the minds of many, both of the clergy and laity, a desire of becoming acquainted with the scriptures, and of drawing their religious opinions from those sacred fountains, even before Luther began the reformation in Germany. The revivers of learning,

²⁸⁷ Knight's Life of Collet, p. 50.²⁸⁸ Id. Ibid.

therefore, contributed not a little to discredit the artificial theology of the schools, and to introduce the study of the scriptures, by which they prepared the minds of men (some of them without intending it) for receiving the doctrines of the reformation. Of this the enemies of the new learning were not ignorant; and they hated Erasmus, who they said had laid the egg, almost as much as they hated Luther, who they said had hatched it²⁸⁹.

Physic, surgery, and all the branches of the healing art, were in a very imperfect state at the beginning of this period, and even at the accession of Henry VIII. This we learn from an act of parliament made A. D. 1511: "The science and cunning
 " of physic and surgery (to the perfect knowledge
 " whereof be requisite both great learning and ripe
 " experience) is daily within this realm exercised
 " by a great multitude of ignorant persons, of
 " whom the greater part have no manner of in-
 " sight in the same, nor in any other kind of
 " learning; some also ken no letters on the book;
 " so far forth, that common artificers, as smiths,
 " weavers, and women, boldly and accustomably,
 " take upon them great cures, and things of
 " great difficulty, in which they partly use sorcery
 " and witchcraft, partly apply such medicines unto
 " the disease as be very noxious, and nothing meet
 " therefor, to the high displeasure of God, great
 " infamy to the faculty, and the grievous hurt,
 " damage, and destruction of many of the king's
 " liege people, most especially of them that cannot

²⁸⁹ Jortin's Life of Erasmus, passim.

" discern

“ discern the uncunning from the cunning ²⁹⁰.” To prevent these evils it was enacted, that no person should act as a physician or surgeon in London, or within seven miles of it, till he was examined and approved by the bishop of London or the dean of St. Paul’s, assisted by four doctors of physic or four expert surgeons, under the penalty of six pounds for every month he had acted; one half to the king, and the other to the informer; and that no person should practise in any other part of England, without a licence from the bishop of the diocese, under the same penalty. The privileges and rights of the two universities were secured. This law seems to have given a check to quackery, and to have diminished the number of practitioners of surgery in London. For two years after, the incorporation of surgeons in London, which consisted only of twelve persons, petitioned parliament to be exempted from the obligation of bearing arms and of serving on juries, that they might be at all times at liberty to attend their practice. Their petition was granted, and that exemption is still enjoyed by the faculty ²⁹¹. The parliament seems to have supposed that twelve regular surgeons would always be sufficient for London; as by the last article in the act the exemption is restricted to that number ²⁹². How short-sighted are the greatest assemblies!

To rescue the practice of physic out of the ignoble and unworthy hands by which it had been

College of
physicians.

²⁹⁰ Stat. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 11.

²⁹¹ 5 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

²⁹² Ibid.

disgraced, and had done so much mischief, another design was soon after formed and executed. This was the institution of the royal college of Physicians in London. This design, it is said, was formed by doctor Thomas Linacer, physician to Henry VIII., and patronised by cardinal Wolsey, at whose desire the king granted a charter September 23d, A. D. 1518, incorporating doctors John Chambré, Thomas Linacer, Ferdinando De Victoria, his own three physicians, with Nicolas Hatswell, John Francisco, and Robert Yaxley, physicians, and the other gentlemen of the faculty in the city of London, into one body, community, and perpetual college. To this college Henry granted various rights, powers, and immunities, by his charter; such as, a right to elect a president annually for the government of the college; to have a common seal; to purchase lands to a certain value; to sue and to be sued by the name and title of The President and Community of the College of Physicians in London; and to make laws and regulations for the good government of the college. He granted them a power to practise as physicians in London, and seven miles round it; and that none who were not licensed by the college should practise within that bounds, under the penalty of paying five pounds for every month they practised. He gave them power to choose four of their members annually, to superintend and discover all irregular practitioners, and to punish them by fines, amerciaments, imprisonments, and other fit and reasonable ways. They had also authority to visit all apothecaries' shops, and

and examine their medicines, as often as they thought it necessary or proper. Finally, the members of the college and their licentiates were exempted from bearing arms or serving on juries. This charter was confirmed by parliament A. D. 1523²⁹³. This institution was intended and calculated to raise the reputation of the medical profession, and prevent the people from being imposed upon by bold and ignorant adventurers, who sported with their lives, and robbed them of their money. These two acts of parliament, which were for some time strictly executed, had one remarkable effect:—by greatly diminishing the number of practitioners, they made the regular practice of physic and surgery exceedingly lucrative. “The most effectual security against poverty,” saith Erasmus, “is the art of medicine, which of all arts is the most remote from mendicity²⁹⁴.”

The wisest legislators do not foresee all the consequences of their laws. The act 3 Hen. VIII. in favour of the incorporation of surgeons in London, proved very inconvenient and oppressive; and that incorporation prosecuted many well-meaning charitable persons, who endeavoured to assist their poor neighbours in distress, with so much severity, that parliament found it necessary to interpose. An act was accordingly made, 35 Hen. VIII. A. D. 1543, representing in the preamble, “That since the act made in the third of that king, the company and fellowship of the surgeons of London, minding only their own lucres, and nothing the profit or ease

Surgeons.

²⁹³ 15 Hen. VIII. c. 5.²⁹⁴ *Erasmi Opera*, tom. v. p. 661.

“ of the diseased and patient, have sued, troubled,
 “ and vexed divers honest persons, as well men as
 “ women, whom God hath endued with the know-
 “ ledge of the nature, kind, and operation of cer-
 “ tain herbs, roots, and waters, and the using and
 “ ministering them to such as been pained with
 “ customable diseases; as women’s breasts being
 “ sore, a pin and web in the eye, uncomes of
 “ hands, burnings, scalding, sore mouths, the stone,
 “ strangury, saucelim, morphew, and such other
 “ diseases; and yet the said persons have not taken
 “ any thing for their pains or cunning, but have
 “ ministered the same to poor people, only for
 “ neighbourhood and God’s sake, and of pity and
 “ charity.” To prevent these vexatious prosecu-
 “ tions, it was enacted, “ That it shall henceforth
 “ be lawful to every person, being the king’s sub-
 “ ject, having knowledge and experience of the
 “ nature of herbs, roots, and waters, or of the
 “ operation of the same, by speculation or practice,
 “ to practise, use, and minister, in and to any out-
 “ ward sore, uncome, wound, apostemations, out-
 “ ward swelling, and disease, any herb or herbs,
 “ ointments, baths, pulsters, and emplasters, ac-
 “ cording to their cunning, experience, and know-
 “ ledge, in any of the diseases; sores, and maladies
 “ before said, and all other like to the same, or
 “ drinks for the stone, strangury, or agues, without
 “ suit, vexation, penalty, or loss of their goods²⁹⁵.”

In this statute the parliament gave the surgeons of
 London a very bad character: “ Most part of the

²⁹⁵ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 8.

“ said

“ said craft of surgeons have small cunning, yet
 “ they will take great sums of money and do little
 “ therefor; and by reason thereof, they do often
 “ times impair and hurt their patients, rather than
 “ do them good. It is now well known, that the
 “ surgeons admitted will do no cure to any person,
 “ but where they shall know to be rewarded with a
 “ greater sum and reward than the cure extendeth
 “ unto: for in case they would minister their
 “ cunning unto fore people unrewarded, there
 “ should not so many rot and perish to death, for
 “ lack or help of surgery, as daily do²⁹⁶.” This
 odious character will not apply to their successors
 in the present age.

Humane and skilful physicians and surgeons were
 never more necessary than in the period we are
 now examining. Besides the diseases formerly
 known, two new ones broke out at this time with
 great violence, and made prodigious havoc. These
 were, the sweating sickness, and the *lues venerea*.
 Of the first of these diseases an account hath been
 already given²⁹⁷. Of the second, a very short one
 will be sufficient. The most probable relation of
 the first appearance of the *lues venerea* in Europe
 seems to be the following: The famous Christopher
 Columbus, the discoverer of the new world, landed
 on the first island he saw in those unknown regions
 in December, A. D. 1492, and called it Hispaniola.
 There his men contracted that disease by their in-
 tercourse with the women of the country, where it
 had long prevailed, and communicated it to the

New
diseases.

²⁹⁶ 35 Hen. VIII. c. 8. ²⁹⁷ See vol. x. ch. 4. sect. 1. p. 122.

people

people of Barcelona on their arrival in that city in March, A. D. 1493, where it soon raged with so much violence, that it excited universal horror and consternation. They considered it as a plague sent immediately from Heaven as a punishment for their sins, and endeavoured to appease the offended Deity by masses, processions, prayers, and alms. Several companies of soldiers, who were generally infected with this new disease, were sent from Barcelona, A. D. 1494, to reinforce the Spanish army in Naples, for the defence of that kingdom against a French army which invaded it that year. What execution these soldiers did in the war is not recorded, but they did great execution by propagating their new distemper in the Spanish and French armies, and in the countries around. The French, on their return into their own country, A. D. 1495, carried this pernicious present with them, and in a few years it was diffused into every corner of Europe²⁹⁸. In France it was called the Neapolitan, and in Italy it was called the French, disease; neither of these nations being ambitious of having its name. The physicians stood aghast at its first appearance, and none but the most ignorant and impudent empirics pretended to give the unhappy patients any relief. Under their management many died miserably, and many of those who survived were wretched, in themselves, and objects of disgust to others. The two mighty rivals, Charles V. and Francis I., were both infected with this disease, and to the last of these princes it proved

²⁹⁸ Astruc on the Venereal Disease, b. i. c. 5. and 20.

fatal.



fatal²⁹⁹. It was one of the articles of accusation brought by the house of peers, A. D. 1529, against the great cardinal Wolsey, "That knowing himself to have the foul and contagious disease of the great pox broken out upon him in divers places of his body, he came daily to your grace, rowning in your ear, and blowing upon your most noble grace with his perilous and infective breath, the marvellous danger of your highness, the good of his infinite goodness had not better provided for your highness³⁰⁰." So dangerous and so infectious was this disease believed to be at that time. By degrees the virulence of this odious distemper, and the consternation occasioned by its first appearance, began to abate, and physicians became better acquainted with its causes, its symptoms, and its cure. But these are not proper subjects for general history.

S E C T. II.

History of the most learned Men who flourished in Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

AMONG the learned men who have flourished in the same period, in any nation, many of them may have enjoyed a certain degree of celebrity in their own times, but few of them have had their names transmitted with honour to posterity in the annals of their country, on account of the superior excellence and utility of their works.

²⁹⁹ Astruc on the Venereal Disease, b. i. c. 1. p. 2.

³⁰⁰ Parliament. Hist. vol. iii. p. 44.

Mediocrity is common, but is soon forgotten ; excellence is rare, but is long remembered. It will be sufficient therefore, and all that can be expected in this place, to give a brief account of those few ingenious and useful men who were the chief instruments of the revival of polite learning and good taste in Britain in our present period, from which we derive so many innocent and rational pleasures, as well as other advantages.

Erasmus.

Though Erasmus of Rotterdam ~~was~~ not a native of Britain, he resided several years in England at different times ; and by his teaching, his conversation, and his writings, he contributed as much, if not more, than any other man, to inspire a taste for the study of the Roman and Greek classics, which was the first stage in the restoration of learning. He was born at Rotterdam, A. D. 1467, and educated at an illustrious school in Dauter, where he began to display that extraordinary genius, and that ardent love of learning, which afterwards rendered him so famous and so useful. Having lost both his parents when he was only in his thirteenth year, his three unfaithful guardians conspired to make him a monk, that they might possess themselves of his patrimony. His aversion to that way of life was strong, and he long resisted all the means that were used to prevail upon him to embrace it. At length, however, he was overcome ; and in the nineteenth year of his age he made his profession, in a convent of regular canons, with extreme reluctance. He was not long immured in his monastery. The genius of young Erasmus, and his aversion to the way of life he had
reluctantly

reluctantly embraced, were not unknown to many ; and at length Henry a Bergis, archbishop of Cambray, took him out of his confinement into his own family when he was about twenty-three years of age. He continued to wear the habit of his order for some time, and was ordained a priest two years after he left his monastery, to which he was determined never to return ; and, by the influence of the pope's secretary, to whom he wrote a most eloquent and pathetic letter, he obtained a *breve* from Julius II. releasing him from his monastic vows and habit. Being now at liberty, he applied with ardour to his studies, and visited France, Italy, and England, to communicate and to increase his knowledge. In all these countries he was well received, and even courted, by persons of the highest rank and greatest merit, who solicited his friendship, and were proud of being numbered among his patrons. Attempts were every where made to retain him, by the offer of comfortable stations, and the promise of more splendid establishments. But he preferred liberty to every thing, and would accept of no preferment that laid him under the least restraint. For several years he led a wandering unsettled life, depending for his subsistence on the pensions of his patrons, the occasional gifts of his friends, and the money he received from his pupils. As he was a bad œconomist, and his income was precarious, he was sometimes reduced to straits, and forced to make complaints. " If I could get money," said he, in a letter to one of his friends, " I would first purchase Greek books, and secondly cloaths."

Few

Few scholars would observe the same order. On the accession of Henry VIII. a young, rich, and generous prince, he was invited by his friend William lord Mountjoy to come once more into England, and encouraged to entertain the most sanguine hopes. He complied with the invitation, and met with the most flattering reception, which afforded the fairest prospects. "The king himself," says he, "a little before his father's death, when I was in Italy, wrote me with his own hand a very friendly letter, and he now speaks of me in the most honourable and affectionate manner. Every time that I salute him he embraces me most obligingly, and looks kindly upon me; and it plainly appears that he not only speaks but thinks well of me. The queen hath endeavoured to have me for her preceptor. Every one knows, that if I would but live a few months at court, the king would give me as many benefits as I could desire. But I esteem all things less than the leisure which I enjoy, and the labours and studies in which I am occupied. The archbishop of Canterbury, primate of England and chancellor of the kingdom, a learned and worthy man, loves me as though he were my father or my brother; and to shew you the sincerity of his friendship, he hath given me a living worth about a hundred nobles, which, at my request, he hath since changed into a pension of a hundred crowns on my resignation. Within these few years he hath given me more than four hundred nobles without my asking. One day he

" gave

“ gave me an hundred and fifty. From the liberality of other bishops I have received more than an hundred. Lord Mountjoy, who was formerly my disciple, gives me a yearly pension of an hundred crowns. The king and the bishop of Lincoln, [Wolsey,] who by the king’s favour is omnipotent, make me magnificent promises.” But all these magnificent promises came to nothing, and none of them were performed. The cause of this is not certainly known: but it disgusted Erasmus so much, that after a long residence of about five years, he left England in discontent, A.D. 1516, and never could be prevailed upon to return. During that residence he contributed very much to diffuse and cherish a taste for the study of the Latin and Greek classics, and of other useful learning. As the subsequent events of this great man’s life do not properly come within our plan, the reader must be referred to the works quoted below for a full account of them, and of his many learned, instructive, and entertaining publications, where he will also find the authorities for what is above related³⁹¹. Not to leave this article quite imperfect, it may be proper to mention a few particulars. Soon after Erasmus settled on the continent, Luther began his opposition to the church of Rome; and when the contest became serious and important, both parties endeavoured to engage him to espouse their cause. No man was more sensible of the corruptions of the church, or more sincerely wished for their

³⁹¹ Knights’, Bayle’s, Le Clerc’s, and Jortin’s Lives of Erasmus. Du Pin, cent. xvi. b. 3.

reformation, which he flattered himself might be brought about by the gentle method of remonstrances, arguments, and persuasions. Being naturally timid, he was terrified at the violence he observed on both sides. He had not courage to join the reformers, who he believed would be crushed by the superior power of their adversaries. His sincerity would not suffer him to appear in defence of errors and absurdities which he detested and despised. This reserve was offensive to both parties, who attacked him in many publications, almost with equal severity. This led him, in the last years of his life, to spend too much of his time in repelling these attacks. At length this most eminent of the restorers of learning, to whose works millions have been indebted for entertainment and instruction, worn out with unremitting study, and a complication of diseases, died at Basil, a protestant city, in the arms of his protestant friends, July 12, A. D. 1536, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. In his person he was rather below the middle stature, elegantly but delicately formed, his complexion fair, his hair yellow, his eyes grey, his countenance cheerful, his voice low, his elocution agreeable, and his conversation exceedingly pleasant and facetious. He was a warm and steady friend and a placable enemy, humane and charitable to the indigent, and to young scholars of whom he entertained a good opinion he was liberal and munificent. His reading was extensive, and his memory retentive almost to a miracle. To him the world owes the revival of the *belles lettres*, of
critical

critical learning, and of a good taste. In a word; he was at once the greatest wit and the most learned man of the age in which he flourished ³⁰².

Sir Thomas More, lord chancellor of England, the great friend and admirer of Erasmus, was, next to him, one of the most ingenious and learned men of his age, and one of the chief restorers of learning. He was born in London A. D. 1480; and being the only son of sir John More, one of the judges of the king's bench, great pains were taken in his education, which he received partly at Cambridge and partly in the family of cardinal Morton archbishop of Canterbury. He gave early and striking proofs of an uncommon genius; and before he was nineteen years of age he had acquired a critical knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages, and had studied rhetoric and several other branches of learning. When he was about twenty he became a kind of devotee, fasted frequently, wore a hair shirt, slept upon boards, and had a great inclination to enter into the Franciscan order. From this, however, he was diverted by his friends; and in obedience to the commands of his father, whom he never disobeyed, he applied to the study of the law. When he was called to the bar, he soon became conspicuous by the eloquence of his pleadings, and was retained in almost every cause of importance. At the age of twenty-one he made a distinguished figure as a member of the house of commons, in opposition to the court, when opposition was more dangerous than it hath been in

Sir Thomas More.

³⁰² Beatus Rhrinanus, vita Erasmi.

later times. In particular, he opposed a bill that was brought into the house, A. D. 1503, for a subsidy and three fifteenths, for the marriage of the princess Margaret to the king of Scots, with such force of reasoning that it was rejected. At the accession of Henry VIII. Mr. More's reputation and business were both very great. But in the midst of the greatest hurry of business, in which the whole day was occupied, he stole time from his sleep to pursue his favourite studies, to correspond with many learned men at home and abroad, and to compose his *Utopia*, which was published A. D. 1516. It was universally admired, translated into several languages, and raised his reputation not a little. Soon after this, Cardinal Wolsey cast his eyes upon him as a proper person to be employed in the service of the crown, and made him proposals for that purpose, which he at first declined; but afterwards complying, he was knighted, admitted a member of the privy council, appointed master of requests, and treasurer of the exchequer, A. D. 1520. He was employed in several embassies, in which he acquitted himself with ability and success. When Henry VIII. became intimately acquainted with him, he was so charmed with his learning and the pleasantry of his conversation, that he sent frequently for him to entertain and divert him. This was very disagreeable to sir Thomas, as it consumed too much of his time; and he made use of a stratagem to get rid of this royal interruption, which few would have employed. He affected to be very dull and unentertaining several times successively.

successively, and was no more sent for; sacrificing the reputation of a wit and the conversation of a king to save his time. Though he was now a courtier and a placeman, he was still a patriot, and boldly opposed the measures of the favourite minister when he thought them wrong. Of this he gave a remarkable proof when he was speaker of the house of commons A. D. 1523, which hath been already related³³⁰. He had the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster A. D. 1526, and he probably retained it till he was advanced to a higher. At length, on the fall of cardinal Wolsey, the king fixed upon sir Thomas More as the most proper person to succeed him as lord chancellor of England; and he was the first layman that held that high office. The seals were delivered to him October 25th, A. D. 1530, and he accepted of them with real reluctance, for which he had good reason. The affair of the divorce, which he disapproved, was then in agitation; he knew the impetuous spirit of the king, that he would not hesitate one moment to sacrifice those who had been most dear to him, when they obstructed the gratification of a reigning passion; and he justly apprehended that holding so high an office in these circumstances would involve him in difficulties and dangers. He held this office about two years and seven months, and discharged the duties of it with great ability, integrity, and diligence. The reformers indeed complained, that when he was in power he encouraged and assisted the clergy in all

³³⁰ See chap. I. sect. 2.

their cruelties to those who were called heretics; and they give some examples of this that are truly shocking ³⁰⁴. These complaints were probably exaggerated, but they were not altogether without foundation. Sir Thomas More, with all his great and good qualities, had also great defects. It appears from his own works, that he was devoted to the pope and clergy in all things, and that his hatred to those who disputed any of their claims, or any of the tenets of the church, was excessive and inveterate; in a word, that he was a superstitious bigot; and there is nothing so apt to pervert the best natures, and prompt them to the worst actions, as superstition and bigotry. He resigned the seals May 16th, A. D. 1533, to avoid the storm which he saw approaching. By the resignation of his office he was reduced at once from opulence to an income of about 100l. a year. This obliged him to part with his three daughters, their husbands and families, who had all hitherto resided with him, and to dismiss his unnecessary servants. Determined never to engage in public business, he lived with great privacy at his house in Chelsea, spending most of his time in his studies and devotions. But he was not long permitted to enjoy this privacy. The act of supremacy passed A. D. 1534, and the oath enjoined by that act being tendered to him, he refused to take it, and he was sent prisoner to the Tower. While he lay in the Tower many endeavours were used by his friends to prevail upon him to take the oath; and when arguments failed to

³⁰⁴ Fox, p. 976. Strype's Memorials, vol. i. p. 201, &c.

persuade,

persuade, both threats and promises were employed: but he remained inflexible. An account of his trial and execution hath been already given, and needs not be repeated; and for a more circumstantial relation of his actions, his writings, his manners, his virtues, and his failings, than the nature and limits of this work will admit, the reader is referred to the works quoted below ³⁰⁵.

If the exact order of time had been observed, William Grocyn would have been first introduced, as he was in that respect one of the first restorers of learning in England. He was born in Bristol A. D. 1442, educated in grammar at Winchester school, made perpetual fellow of New College A. D. 1467, and presented by that college, A. D. 1479, to the rectory of Newton Longville in Buckinghamshire. His love of study made him still reside at Oxford, where he was appointed divinity reader in Magdalen College A. D. 1483. Having a very strong desire to acquire a perfect knowledge of the Greek language, which was then almost quite unknown in England, he left his country A. D. 1488, in the forty-sixth year of his age, and travelled into Italy. There, in company with several of his countrymen who had come for the same purpose, he studied Latin under Angelo Politian, and Greek under Demetrius Chalcondylas, one of those learned men who had fled from Constantinople when it was taken by the Turks. Under these two excellent instructors he made himself a master of those lan-

William
Grocyn.

³⁰⁵ Roper's Life and Death of Thomas More. Stapleton, vita T. Mori. Hoddensiden's Life and Death of Sir T. More. Biographia Britannica, article Sir T. More.

ganges in about two years, and returned into England to communicate the knowledge he had acquired. He taught Greek publicly at Oxford A. D. 1591, and was the first who introduced the new pronunciation of that language. He had the famous Erasmus for one of his hearers, with whom he contracted an intimate friendship, and kept him a considerable time in his house. When he left Oxford he came to London, and read lectures on divinity in St. Paul's. He resigned the rectory of Dipden A. D. 1503, and of Newton Longville the year after; for what reason we do not know. He was elected, A. D. 1506, master of the collegiate church of Maidstone in Kent, where he died A. D. 1522, in the eightieth year of his age. Grocyn's reigning passion was the love of learning, particularly of the Greek, and to inspire his countrymen with the same taste. Some years before his death he formed the design of giving a correct and elegant Latin translation of all Aristotle's works; in which he was promised the assistance of his learned friends Linacer, Latimer, Lily, Collet, and More. But the avocations of his friends, and his own infirmities, prevented the accomplishment of that design ¹⁰⁶.

Doct^r
Linacer.

Doctor Thomas Linacre, or Linacer, one of the great revivers of learning, and the most polite and elegant scholar of his age, was born at Canterbury A. D. 1460, and educated in the cathedral school of that city, under the learned Mr. William Tilly, who was not a mere school-

¹⁰⁶ A. Wood, Athen. Oxon. Tanner, Bibliotheca Britan. p. 345, master,

master, but a man of business, and an able negotiator. Being appointed by Henry VII. his ambassador at the court of Rome, he carried his favourite pupil Linacre with him, and introduced him to the most famous professors then in Italy, where he spent several years in the study of the *belles lettres* and of medicine. He acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek under Chalcondylas, and he even excelled his master Politian in the classical purity of his Latin style. His proficiency in medicine was so conspicuous, that he was appointed a professor of it in the university of Padua³⁰⁷. On his return home, he was incorporated doctor of physic at Oxford, and soon after he was appointed physician and preceptor to prince Arthur and his sister Mary. He came into great practice, and was successively physician to Henry VII. and Henry VIII. To shew his love to his profession; he founded two lectures of physic at Oxford and one at Cambridge. He contributed more effectually to rescue the healing arts from the wretched state in which he found them, by his strenuous and successful efforts for the establishment of the royal college of physicians in London, of which he was the first president, and to which he gave his own house for their place of meeting. In the midst of all this business he did not neglect his favourite studies; and his friend Erasmus often rallied him for spending so much of his time in the study of philology. On this subject he wrote the *Rudiments of Grammar*, for the use of his pupil the

³⁰⁷ Tanner, *Bibliotheca Britan.* p. 42a.

princess Mary, afterwards queen of France; and a much larger work, *De emandata Struētura Latīni Sermonis, libri sex*, which was much admired, and passed through many editions. For the benefit of those of his own profession he translated several of Galen's tracts into pure and classical Latin, and in so masterly a manner, that they had the appearance of an original work. When he was advanced in life he applied to the study of theology, was ordained a priest, and obtained several livings and preferments in the church. He died of the stone October 20th, A. D. 1524, at the age of sixty-four, and was buried in St. Paul's, where a monument was erected to his memory thirty years after, by his great admirer, doctor John Caius. If we may rely on the character given to doctor Linacre by his learned contemporaries who were most intimately acquainted with him, his genius for learning was not his greatest excellence, and his virtues were at least equal to his abilities; in a word, that he was a benefactor to mankind, an honour to literature, and an ornament to human nature³⁰⁸. Should such men ever be forgotten?

Doctor
Collet.

Doctor John Collet was one of those ingenious men who contributed by their united labours to the revival of learning in Britain in this period. He was the first-born of the eleven sons and eleven daughters of sir Henry Collet (who was twice mayor of London) by his wife Christian, and was born in London A. D. 1466. After he had received the

³⁰⁸ See A. Wood, *Athen. Oxon.* vol. i. col. 15. Pitts, p. 693. Dr. Friend's *Hist. Phys.* vol. ii. p. 400, &c. Tanner, p. 482. *Biograph. Britan.*

first part of his education in his native city, he spent seven years at Oxford in the study of the logic and philosophy of those times. Not satisfied with the acquisitions he had made at home, he travelled into France and Italy, and spent about four years in those two countries, where he perfected himself in the Latin and Greek languages, and cultivated the acquaintance and friendship of the learned. He entered very early into holy orders, and before he went abroad he had been presented to two livings, and before he returned home he was preferred to a prebendary in York, and to another in St. Martin's le Grand, London. When he returned into England he was not only an excellent scholar, but an accomplished gentleman; and being naturally high-spirited, amorous, gay, and sprightly, he seemed fitter for the court than the church. But having a lively sense of the obligations of virtue and religion, and an ardent love of learning, he subdued those propensities which might have betrayed him into a course of life unbecoming his profession, and became as conspicuous for the purity as the politeness of his manners. In Italy he had applied to the study of theology, had perused the New Testament in the original with care, and had read the works of several of the Greek and Latin fathers. After he had stayed a few months in London with his friends and family, he went to Oxford, and read a course of lectures on St. Paul's Epistles, which were received with great applause by crowded audiences. By the influence of his numerous

merous friends, without any solicitation of his own, he was promoted to several prebendaries in different churches, and to the deanry of St. Paul's A. D. 1505. Of this last office he discharged the duties with uncommon zeal, by introducing a more strict and regular discipline; by his preaching in the cathedral every Sunday; and by procuring some of his learned friends to read lectures in divinity there on other days. In his sermons on public occasions he censured with great freedom the ignorance and vices of the clergy and the corruptions of the church, which drew upon him a prosecution for heresy, to which he would probably have fallen a sacrifice, if he had not been preserved by the primate, who put a stop to the prosecution. He had been three times seized with that terrible plague the sweating sickness, which threw him into a consumption, of which he died September 16th, A. D. 1519, in the fifty-third year of his age. As doctor Collet possessed a plentiful fortune and generous heart, many were benefited by his bounty. His noble foundation of St. Paul's school will be hereafter mentioned. He made many presents to his friend Erasmus, and to other scholars who stood in need of his assistance. He composed much, but published little. Several treatises that were found in an obscure corner of his library were published after his death, and some are still unpublished. In his person he was tall and handsome, in his deportment graceful and engaging, in his manners he

was regular without austerity, and his preaching was plain and popular. He saw and condemned many of the corruptions of the church, particularly the celibacy of the clergy, auricular confession, the worship of images, and other superstitions. Like his friend Erasmus, he entertained several of the opinions of the reformed before the reformation, and by his preaching and conversation he prepared the minds of many for their reception ³⁰⁹.

William Lily was another of those ingenious and industrious men who were the instruments of reviving learning in Britain, by introducing the study of the Greek and Latin classics. He was born at Odiham the same year (1466) with his great friend and patron doctor Collet. When he had finished his school education he went to Oxford, and became a student in Magdalen College. But his stay at the university was not long. Prompted by the reigning superstition of the times, he set out on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, which he accomplished. On his journey home he resided five years in the island of Rhodes; and with the assistance of some learned refugees from Constantinople, he acquired a perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue. From thence he went to Rome, and perfected himself in the Latin language under two of the most celebrated professors in that city. On his return to England he opened a school in London for teaching rhetoric, poetry, and the Greek and Latin languages, which soon became famous. When dean

William
Lily,

³⁰⁹ See Doctor Knight's Life of Dean Collet. Tanner, p. 189.
Erasmii Epistola Jodoco Jonæ.

Collet

Collet had built and endowed his school at St. Paul's, he appointed his friend Mr. Lily its first master A. D. 1511, who presided in it about twelve years with great reputation and success. Among other things he composed a grammar for the use of that school, which is well known by the name of Lily's Grammar in all the schools in England. In this, however, he was assisted by Erasmus, doctor Collet, and Thomas Robinson, three of the best linguists in Europe; and it was published with a preface composed by the great cardinal Wolsey, recommending it to universal use. Of such importance did the education of youth in classical learning appear to the greatest men of that age! He composed many other tracts both in prose and verse. This most useful man died of the plague A. D. 1523¹¹⁰.

Richard
Paice.

Richard Paice cultivated the *belles lettres* with great ardour and success, and contributed to introduce a taste for that kind of learning into England. He was born of poor parents in Worcestershire, and was taken when he was very young into the family of Thomas Langton bishop of Worcester. That prelate observing the ingenuity of young Paice, became his friend and patron, and sent him to Italy, then the seat of polite learning, with a proper exhibition; and in his last will he bequeathed to his scholar Richard Paice 10 l. a year (equivalent to 100 l. of our money at present) for seven years, to enable him to pursue his studies abroad. Supported by this exhibition, he studied several

¹¹⁰ Leland, Bale, Pitts, Tanner.

years

years at Padua, Bononia, and Ferrara, where he acquired a critical knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, and a tincture of other learning. On his return home he resided some time at Oxford for his further improvement, and was then taken into the family of cardinal Bainbridge archbishop of York, whence he was called to the court, and appointed Latin secretary to Henry VIII. Being in priest's orders, he obtained several prebends in different churches, and in October A. D. 1519 he succeeded Doctor Collet in the deanry of St. Paul's. While he was secretary to the king he was employed in several embassies, in which he acquitted himself with great ability and success. In his last embassy to the republic of Venice, A. D. 1525, he was seized with a disorder for which the physicians were of opinion his native air would be the only cure; and at his departure the doge sent a letter to the cardinal, highly commending the ambassador for his ability, fidelity, and diligence, which concludes thus: "Finally, I assure your most reverend domination, that the reverend lord ambassador hath been most faithful and most diligent in all the affairs of his royal majesty, and that he hath been most attentive and most studious to please your most reverend domination³¹¹." But, alas! how precarious is court favour! Having in some way or other offended the cardinal, he was sent prisoner to the tower; with which he was so much affected that he became insane, and died in that condition A. D. 1532. He appears to have been a

³¹¹ Rym. tom. xiv. p. 96.

worthy man, as well as an excellent scholar, as he lived in the most intimate friendship with Erasmus, More, Tonstal, Linacre, Collet, and other eminent men, both at home and abroad. He learned languages with peculiar facility, and not only spoke several of the modern languages; but understood Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic. Though he was much engaged in public employments, he wrote many treatises on theological, political, and other subjects. One of the most curious of these is his tract *De fructu qui ex Doctrina percipitur*—"Of the benefits that are derived from Learning."¹²

It is pleasant to remark, that all these restorers of learning in this period were virtuous men and sincere friends; that they co-operated most cordially in promoting the objects they had in view; assisted each other in their labours, and in repelling the attacks that were made upon any of them; and that they advanced the fame of one another by mutual and well-founded commendations. This reflected honour on literature, and contributed not a little to the success of their efforts for its restoration. Emulation is indeed a spur to industry and exertion, and may exist among the sincerest friends; but when it is accompanied and excited by envy and malevolence, it brings reproach upon learning, gives a wrong direction to industry, and renders it rather hurtful than beneficial to society. The wise and virtuous, in their sharpest conflicts, will guard against rancour and asperity.

¹² Bale, Pits, Tanner.

Several

Several other men of learning and genius flourished in England in this period; as Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, Tonsal bishop of Durham, fir John Cheke, John Leland, &c. &c.

A taste for the study of polite learning, or the *belles lettres*, revived in Scotland about the same time that it revived in England; and this taste was cherished by government, and even enforced by law. By an act of parliament already quoted, every freeholder of substance was obliged to keep his eldest son at some grammar school till he had acquired a perfect knowledge of the Latin language, and then to put him three years to some university to study philosophy and the laws. In consequence of this prevailing taste, a competency at least of learning became gradually more general among the gentlemen, and even among the common people of Scotland, than in any other country of Europe; and several ingenious men in this period became eminent for their classical erudition. But of these our limits will permit us only to mention a very few.

Gavin Douglas, bishop of Dunkeld, was not only one of the greatest poets, but also one of the best scholars and most amiable men of his age. He was the third son of Archibald, commonly called Bell the Cat, sixth earl of Angus, and uncle to Archibald the seventh earl, who married Margaret queen dowager of Scotland, the eldest sister of Henry VIII.³¹¹ He was born about 1472, and

³¹¹ Hume's History of the Douglasses, p. 219.

having

having early discovered a taste for learning, he was destined for the church, in which, from the power and influence of his family, he had a prospect of the highest promotions. He received the first part of his education at home, and when he had gone through a course of philosophy in the university of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris for his further improvement. There he spent several years in study, and acquired an uncommon stock of knowledge of various kinds, though he delighted most in poetry and the *belles lettres*. On his return to Scotland he was promoted to the provostry of St. Giles in Edinburgh, and to several other livings, and among others to the rich abbey of Arbroath. He enjoyed little comfort in this promotion, owing to the troubles in which his country was involved in the minority of James V. He was presented by the queen-regent to the archbishopric of St. Andrew's; but he had two formidable competitors, John Hepburn the prior, elected by the chapter, and Andrew Forman bishop of Moray, nominated by the pope; and he soon relinquished his claim, and left the other two to contend for the prize. Apprehensive of danger in his own country, from the violence of faction, he obtained a safe-conduct for himself and thirty persons in his company, to come into England, from Henry VIII. January 23d, A. D. 1515¹⁴. But he did not make use of that safe-conduct; for the bishopric of Dunkeld becoming vacant, he obtained it by a bull from Leo X. and was consecrated by James Beaton, archbishop

¹⁴ Rymer, tom. xiii. p. 473.

of Glasgow, the same year. But as he owed his promotion to a papal bull, he was imprisoned by the duke of Albany a whole year for trafficking with Rome. This was a severe and partial act. The primate archbishop Foreman had been promoted only a few months before in the same manner without incurring any censure. This severity to so near a relation and so good a man, so much alarmed the queen and her husband the earl of Angus, that they retired into England. The earl after some time was prevailed upon to return, and his uncle was set at liberty. When the duke of Albany returned to France A.D. 1517, he carried the bishop of Dunkeld with him, under a pretence of doing him honour, but in reality as a hostage for the good behaviour of his nephew and his friends in his absence. The bishop was permitted to return home the year after with the ratification of the ancient alliance between France and Scotland. In the fierce contest that ensued between the Hamiltons and Douglasses, our good prelate acted the part of a peace-maker with great zeal, but without success: and after the defeat of the Hamiltons in the streets of Edinburgh, he saved the life of the archbishop of Glasgow, who had acted the part of an incendiary. When the duke of Albany returned to Scotland A.D. 1521, the persecution of the Douglasses was renewed, and our prelate retired privately into England to avoid the storm, and to prepare an asylum for his friends. As soon as his retreat was known, all his goods were confiscated,

and the revenues of his see sequestered³¹⁵. He met with a most kind reception from Henry VIII. and was caressed by all the most eminent persons in the court of England. In the mean time the archbishopric of St. Andrew's became vacant, and Henry exerted all his influence at the court of Rome to procure the promotion of the bishop of Dunkeld to that see. His competitor, the archbishop of Glasgow, (whose life he had lately saved,) wrote to Christiern king of Denmark, earnestly intreating him to counteract the interest of the king of England at the court of Rome with all his might, and giving his rival a most odious character, as a rebel to his king and an enemy to his country³¹⁶. But a superior power put an end to this contest. The bishop of Dunkeld died of the plague at London in April A. D. 1522³¹⁷. As the works of this learned and excellent but unfortunate prelate, which do so much honour to his name and country, were poetical, they come most properly into the history of poetry, in the next chapter of this book.

Patrick
Panter.

Patrick Panter, Latin secretary to king James IV. was one of those who, by applying with peculiar ardour to the acquisition of classical learning, and the imitation of the writers of the Augustan age, contributed to introduce a better taste, and to give a better direction to the studies of their countrymen, than that which had long prevailed. He was born in the town of Montrose about A. D. 1470; and having gone through a course of education at home,

³¹⁵ *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, tom. i. p. 328. ³¹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 333.

³¹⁷ *Buchan. lib. xiv. Lesly, lib. ix. Spotswood, Tanner, Bale.*
he

he went to Paris, (as was then the custom,) where he spent several years in the prosecution of his studies. On his return to Scotland he entered into holy orders, became rector of Fetterrisso in the Mearns, Master of *Domus Dei* in Brechin, and preceptor to Alexander Stewart the king's natural son. In that office he acquitted himself so well, that when his pupil was put under the care of the great Erasmus about A. D. 1505, his royal master rewarded him with the abbacy of Cambuskenneth, and took him into his own service as his secretary; a station for which he was peculiarly fitted, and in which he did honour to his king, his country, and himself, by the elegance and classical purity of the language of his dispatches³¹⁸. In that office he continued during the king's life and the regency of the queen. As he was attached to the party of the queen and her second husband the earl of Angus, he was represented as a dangerous man to the duke of Albany, who, on some pretence or other, threw him into prison. But when that prince was better informed of his worth and abilities, he released him from prison, restored him to his office, and carried him with him into France. There he fell into a lingering disease, of which he died at Paris A. D. 1519³¹⁹.

Hector Boethius, or Boyce, was a native of Dundee, and born about A. D. 1466. After he had finished a course of education in the university of St. Andrew's, he went to Paris, where he studied

Boethius.

³¹⁸ See *Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*, Edinburgi 1722.

³¹⁹ *Prefat. Epistolæ Regum Scotorum*.

several years in the college of Montacute, in which he was advanced to a professor's chair. On his return to Scotland he was appointed principal of the newly-founded university of Aberdeen, and had some other preferments in the church. When he resided in France he contracted a friendship with Erasmus, by whom he was much esteemed and commended, for his taste, his learning, and other good qualities. He composed several treatises upon various subjects; but his principal work was—*Historia rerum Scotticarum a prima gentis origine ad A.D. 1436*—"A History of the Scots from the "Origin of the Nation to the Year 1436." It is with the style of this work only that we are here concerned, and that hath been highly admired, and affords a sufficient proof of his good taste and classical erudition, which entitles him to be ranked among the restorers of learning³²⁰.

An account of several other writers who flourished in Scotland in this period, and contributed in some degree to the revival of learning, might be here inserted; but this would exceed our limits, and to many readers of general history would appear tedious. It is sufficient to remark, that the youth of Scotland at this time, in proportion to their numbers, discovered as good a taste, and as great a thirst for knowledge, as those of England, though they laboured under some disadvantages; particularly many of them not finding proper establishments at home, were obliged to seek for them in foreign countries. The history of John Lesley

³²⁰ Nicolson's Scots Hist. Tanner, Bale, Dempster.

bishop

bishop of Ross, and of his great opponent in politics Mr. George Buchannan, belongs to the succeeding period.

S E C T. III.

History of the principal Seminaries of Learning that were founded in Great Britain from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

THOUGH many superb and richly endowed schools and colleges for the education of youth and encouragement of learning had been already-established in Britain, particularly in England, their numbers and riches still continued to increase. In our present period of only sixty-two years, three colleges were founded in Oxford and five in Cambridge, and the two illustrious schools of Ipswich and St. Paul's. In Scotland a new university was founded at Aberdeen, and a new college in St. Andrew's. Of all which foundations and their founders a very brief account shall now be given.

Brazen-nose College in Oxford was founded on the site of Brazen-nose-hall (from which it derived its name) by William Smith bishop of Lincoln, and sir Richard Sutton of Presbury in Cheshire. These two founders having purchased certain contiguous halls, houses, and gardens, in Oxford, obtained a charter from Henry VIII. A. D. 1511, authorising them to build their intended college, and to purchase and endow it with lands to the value of 300l.

Brazen-nose College.

R 3

a-year.

a-year. The buildings were then begun, but bishop Smith, one of the founders, died before they were finished. The foundation-charter for the college, to consist of a principal, twelve fellows, and sixty scholars, was executed by sir Richard Sutton, the surviving founder, February 1st, A. D. 1521. The revenues of this college, as well as those of all the other colleges in Oxford, were very much increased by a succession of benefactors³²¹.

Corpus
Christi
College.

Richard Fox, successively bishop of Exeter, Bath, Durham, and Winchester, was the founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. This prelate acted an important part both in church and state in the reigns of Henry VII. and of Henry VIII. When he was prosecuting his studies at Paris, he became acquainted with cardinal Morton, (then in exile,) who prevailed upon him to join Henry earl of Richmond in his expedition into England A. D. 1485. He had no reason to repent of that step. The expedition was successful, the earl mounted the throne, doctor Fox was immediately admitted into the council, and appointed keeper of the privy seal. Few were more employed or better rewarded by Henry VII. in whose reign he was successively promoted to the sees of Exeter, Bath and Wells, Durham, and Winchester. In his old age, he began to consider how he should dispose of the riches he had accumulated, and his first intention was, to build a small college in Oxford, to be a seminary for the education of the novices of the priory of St. Swithin, his cathedral in Winchester. But when

³²¹ A. Wood, Hist. Univ. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 212, &c.

the

the building was far advanced, he was persuaded by Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, to change his plan, and to found a much larger college, for the benefit of studious youth in general, to which he promised to become a benefactor. In compliance with this advice, he founded, by a charter dated March 1st, A. D. 1517, a college for a principal and thirty scholars, to be called *Corpus Christi* College, in Oxford. He founded also three lectureships in the college; one for the *belles lettres*, of which John Ludovicus Vives was the first reader; one for the Greek language, and one for theology. Bishop Oldham performed his promise, by contributing 1000 marks to the buildings, and by the grant of an estate. His example was followed by many other benefactors³²².

Cardinal Wolsey was one of those men whose minds expand with their fortunes. Though his birth was humble, when he attained to power and opulence he displayed a most magnificent and princely spirit. Of this the noble plan he formed, and the splendid expensive preparations he made, for founding a college in Oxford, which, for the magnificence of its structure, the richness of its furniture, the number of its members, and the greatness of its revenues, would have exceeded every seminary of learning in the world, afford a sufficient proof. To accomplish this, he obtained two bulls from pope Clement VII. empowering him (with the king's consent) to dissolve the priory of St. Frideswade in Oxford, and as many other small religious houses

Cardinal
College.

³²² A. Wood, Hist. Univers. Oxon. lib. ii. p. 230.

as he thought proper, and to apply their revenues, lands, and goods to the endowment of his intended college³²². To the execution of these bulls the king gave his consent, and granted him a charter, dated July 3d, A. D. 1525, authorising him to found a college in Oxford, to be called Cardinal College, and to endow it with lands and revenues to the amount of 2000l. a year³²³: a very great revenue in those times. The year after, the king granted the cardinal for the benefit of his college no fewer than five charters, containing a great number of privileges and immunities, with a power of impropriating about seventy rectories, in addition to its revenues³²⁴. The cardinal having thus provided ample revenues for the members of his college, the foundation of it was laid July 15th, A. D. 1525; and, as great numbers of artificers of all kinds were employed, the buildings advanced with great rapidity. As soon as apartments were ready for their reception, he introduced a dean and eighteen canons, which he designed afterwards to increase to one hundred and eighty, or two hundred. In the mean time he expended prodigious sums of money, not only on the buildings, but in providing statues, pictures, plate, jewels, books, vestments, furniture, and every thing that could be either useful or ornamental to his favourite establishment. He prepared also a book of statutes for its government; from which it appears that it was to have consisted of a dean, a sub-dean, sixty canons of the first class,

³²² Rym. tom. xiv. p. 15. 32.

³²³ Ibid. p. 39.

³²⁴ Ibid. p. 55—75. Strype, vol. i. Append. No. 28, 29.

forty canons of the second class, (who were all to devote themselves to study,) thirteen chaplains, twelve clerks, sixteen choristers for performing the service in the college church, four censors, three treasurers, four collectors, and twenty servants. In a word, the cardinal neglected nothing to render his college (which he expected would transmit his name with honour to posterity) superior in all respects to every other college. But he neglected one thing, which proved fatal to the whole. Being under no apprehension of his disgrace, which fell upon him like a clap of thunder, he neglected to execute the foundation charter, and convey the revenues, lands, and goods to the college, which he had provided for it with so much care. All these, therefore, being still his own property, when he was found in a premunire, they were forfeited to the king³²⁵. The spoil was great, and it was seized with eagerness. The lands were sold, or granted to craving courtiers, and all the precious moveables dissipated. Thus fell Cardinal College before it was half finished, to the no small regret of the friends of learning; as it prevented the execution of a design which the cardinal had formed, of procuring copies of all the MSS. in the Vatican for the library of his college.

After all the works of Cardinal College had been interrupted about four years, and the unfinished buildings tended to ruin, the king was prevailed upon to found a college in the same place, to be called the College of King Henry VIII. But though

College of
Henry
VIII.

³²⁵ Wood, lib. ii. p. 246.

this

this was a royal foundation, it was on a much smaller scale than that of the cardinal; as it consisted only of a dean and twelve secular canons. Nor was this college of much longer duration than the former. Doctor John Oliver, the second dean, resigned his college and all its revenues to the king May 20th, A. D. 1545³²⁶.

Christ's
Church.

Henry having thus dissolved his own college, he soon after made it the seat and cathedral of the bishop of Oxford, by the name of the Cathedral of Christ's Church in Oxford, founded by Henry VIII. This new society was composed of a bishop, a dean, and eight canons. To the dean and canons he granted all the buildings, lands, and revenues of his late college, on condition that they paid the following stipends to the following persons: to eight minor canons, each 10l.; to a gospeller, 8l.; to a postellator, 6l. 13s. 4d.; to eight clerks, each 6l. 13s. 4d.; to the master of the singing boys, 13l. 6s. 8d.; to the organist, 10l.; to eight singing boys, each 7l. 13s. 4d.; to three public professors in the university, one of theology, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek, each 40l.; to sixty scholars or students, each 8l.; to the first school-master, 20l.; to the second school-master, 10l.; forty school-boys³²⁷.

The number of colleges founded in Cambridge in this period exceed that of those founded in Oxford, if we reckon Cardinal College, the College

³²⁶ Wood, lib. ii. p. 251. Rym. tom. xiv. p. 443.

³²⁷ Wood, lib. ii. p. 246.

of Henry VIII. and Christ's Church, only one foundation.

The nuns of St. Radigund in Cambridge had become so profligate that they were expelled, and their house, with its revenues and lands, (which were of considerable value,) were granted by Henry VII. A. D. 1496, to John Alcock bishop of Ely, who converted the nunnery into a college, for one master, six fellows, and six scholars, and dedicated it to Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and St. Radigund. The revenues of this college were afterwards increased by many benefactors ³²⁸.

Jesus
College,

The lady Margaret countess of Richmond, and mother to Henry VII. founded Christ's College in Cambridge A. D. 1505, for one master, twelve fellows, and forty-seven scholars, and endowed it with lands of considerable value in several counties ³²⁹.

Christ's
College.

The same illustrious lady founded St. John's College in this university A. D. 1508, but did not live to see it finished: the works however were carried on and completed by her executors. Several of the estates that had been granted to this college, to the amount of 400l. a year, were evicted from it in the reign of Edward VI. whether justly or unjustly cannot now be discovered, though Mr. Ascham affirms it was owing to the rapacity of greedy courtiers ³³⁰. This loss, however, was repaired by a long train of forty-eight benefactors, which enabled this foundation to support a master,

St. John's
College.

³²⁸ Fuller's Hist. Univer. Camb. p. 85.

³²⁹ Ibid. p. 90.

³³⁰ Ibid. p. 94.

fifty-four fellows, and eighty-eight scholars, with officers and servants.

**Maudlin
College.**

Edward Stafford duke of Buckingham, one of the greatest subjects in England, designed to have enlarged the buildings and revenues of an old house called Monk's College, and to have given it the name of Buckingham college. But before he had proceeded far in the execution of this design, he was tried, condemned, and executed for high treason May 17th, A. D. 1521. After the buildings had been several years suspended, Thomas lord Audley, chancellor of England, founded and endowed a college on the same site, which he named Magdalen, commonly called Maudlin College³³¹.

**Trinity
College.**

Henry VIII. having got possession of three adjacent halls, razed them to the ground, and erected on the area, and richly endowed, a large, regular, and magnificent college A. D. 1536, dedicated to the holy and undivided Trinity, and thence called Trinity College. Great additions have been made to the revenues of this college by subsequent benefactors, which have rendered it one of the greatest, richest, and most noble foundations of the kind in Europe. Henry at the same time founded four professorships in Cambridge; one of theology, one of law, one of Hebrew, and one of Greek; with each a salary of 40l. a year³³².

Though the universities of Scotland are not to be compared with those of England, for the number of their colleges, their magnificence, and the greatness

³³¹ Fuller's Hist. Univer. Cam. p. 121.

³³² Ibid. p. 122—124.

of their revenues ; yet they seem, in some respect, to have advantages, of which I shall only mention one at present. Being four in number, and situated in different cities of the kingdom, they are better known and more accessible. Every one knows that there is an university at no great distance from him, and that he may give his son an university education without sending him far from home. In consequence of this, a tincture of learning at least is very general in Scotland, where there are no clergymen, and very few gentlemen, who have not had an university education.

With a view to this particular advantage, James IV. applied to pope Alexander VI. to give his sanction to the establishment of an university in his city of Aberdeen, for the accommodation of the people of the northern and highland parts of his dominions, who, being at a great distance from the seats of learning, were more rude and ignorant than his other subjects. In compliance with this application, the pope (without whom nothing could be done in those times) issued a bull at Rome February 10th, A. D. 1494, erecting an university in the city of Old Aberdeen, for the study of theology, civil and canon law, medicine, the liberal arts and sciences, and all lawful faculties, and granting it all the immunities, rights, and privileges enjoyed by any other university or general study. By this bull of erection, the pope appointed William Elphington, bishop of Aberdeen, (who was the real founder,) to be chancellor of the new university, and his successors in the see of Aberdeen to succeed him

him in that office. The bull was confirmed by a charter A. D. 1498; in which the king appropriated the parish church of Slains, with its tithes and patronage, which received, by a subsequent bull A. D. 1500, an extensive and independent jurisdiction both in ecclesiastical and temporal questions. The first foundation was established by the bishop in 1505, and contained thirty-six persons; a principal, canonist, civilian, a professor of medicine, a sub-principal, and grammarian, five masters of arts, studying theology, and instructing the scholars in poetry and rhetoric; thirteen scholars, eight prebendaries to officiate as chaplains, and four singing-boys. But the bishop was afterwards enabled to enlarge the foundation, by a more liberal endowment, for forty-two persons; four doctors, eight masters, and three bachelors of arts, thirteen scholars, eight chaplains, and six singing-boys. The masters remained in the university six years, studying theology and teaching the arts; after which they obtained the degree of doctor, and removed from the university to make way for others. The experience of thirty-six years discovered that a succession of new teachers was extremely inconvenient, and that the masters dismissed after six years study were not always sufficiently qualified to be doctors of divinity. Another papal bull was therefore obtained A. D. 1538, permitting those that studied divinity to reside in the university, and exercise their functions during the chancellor's pleasure, and till others were qualified and desirous to succeed them.

A second

A second college was founded in the university of St. Andrew's in this period, by James Stewart, natural son of James IV., the archbishop, and John Hephurn the prior, and the chapter of St. Andrew's, called the College of Poor Clerks, or St. Leonard's College, from its vicinity to St. Leonard's church. It appears from the foundation-charter, that there had been an hospital in the same place, for the reception and entertainment of pilgrims of different nations, who crowded to St. Andrew's, to pay their devotions to the arm of St. Andrew, which wrought a great many miracles. At length, however, the saint's arm being tired with that laborious kind of work, or thinking he had done enough, the miracles and the conflux of pilgrims ceased, and the hospital was deserted. The prior and convent, who had been the founders and were the patrons of the hospital, then filled it with old women. But these old women produced little or no fruit of virtue or devotion, and were turned out. The prior and convent having repaired the church and hospital of St. Leonard, resolved to convert them into a college, to consist of a master, or principal; four chaplains, two of which were to be regents; and twenty scholars, who were first to be taught the languages, and then the liberal arts and sciences; and six of them who were thought most fit, should then apply with great ardour and vehement reading to the study of theology under the principal. Such of these scholars as were found fittest for it were to be taught music, both plain song and descant. The foundation-charter to this purpose

purpose was executed by the archbishop, the prior, and chapter, at St. Andrew's, August 20th, A. D. 1512. By another charter the prior and chapter endowed this college with all the houses, lands, and revenues which had belonged to St. Leonard's hospital. Both these charters were confirmed by royal charter, dated at Edinburgh February 20th, A. D. 1513³³³.

Nurseries for the education of youth, and preparing them for the universities, were not now wanting in any considerable town in Britain; and some very illustrious ones were founded in this period; as St. Paul's school by doctor Collet, Ipswich school by cardinal Wolsey, Westminster school by Henry VIII. and many others, both in England and Scotland.

³³³ Ex Archiv. Univerf. St. And.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER V.

History of the Arts in Great Britain, from the
Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to
the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

SECTION I.

History of the necessary and useful Arts.

FROM the accession of the Tudors, and the
union or extinction of those factions that dis-
tracted England, a period of comparative tran-
quillity commences; a long period, protracted
almost to the middle of the seventeenth century,
during which the English nation was neither ex-
hausted by its wars abroad, not much disquieted by

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domestic

domestic sedition. Such repose was propitious to arts and commerce; and the country, recovering from the calamities of internal discord, continued afterwards in a state of slow, but progressive improvement. A few years suffice to repair the disasters inflicted by war; but during the period allotted to the present volume, the effects of the civil wars were sometimes prolonged, after the causes from which they originated had ceased to operate.

Agriculture exchanged for pasturage.

To the devastations produced by the civil wars may be justly attributed the decay of population, and in some measure the decrease and disappearance both of predial and domestic servitude. The bondsmen, so numerous formerly, were either consumed in battle, emancipated for their services, or enabled, by the frequent fluctuations of property, to regain their freedom. Proprietors were obliged to convert into pasturage those demesnes which their slaves and cottagers had formerly cultivated³³⁴; and while the estates of either party were alternately wasted, it was soon discovered that flocks and herds were better adapted, than the produce of agriculture, to such troublesome times. They might be removed with ease on the irruption of an enemy, or disposed of secretly, if the proprietor were involved in the misfortunes of his party. A measure recommended by its expediency was generally adopted, and continued prevalent, when no necessity required such precaution. When government, under Henry VII. and his son, had attained to sta-

³³⁴ See vol. x. ch. 5. sect. 1.

bility, when its vigour repressed the depredations of the barons, and precluded the danger of a future revolution, the conversion of arable lands into pasture, increased through England to a dangerous extreme. Inclosures were multiplied, demesne lands were extended, till the farms of the husbandmen were appropriated to pasture; their houses were demolished or permitted to decay, while a few herdsmen, fewer than are usually allotted to pasturage, supplanted the yeomen, and occupied, by means of inclosures, the largest estates³³⁵. Landlords, it is probable, were still desirous of retaining the management of those lands, the culture of which they had formerly conducted by their villains or cottagers; and their tenants, accustomed hitherto to the most moderate rents, were unwilling to submit to an unusual advance. But the circumstances most detrimental to agriculture may be discovered in the restrictions attending the exportation of grain, and the constant, perhaps the increasing, consumption of English wool. At a former period, the exportation of corn had, in certain circumstances, been permitted, and its importation regulated by different statutes³³⁶; but by these statutes a discretionary control was committed to the king; and there is reason to believe that the operations of prerogative were seldom favourable, or exerted, unless for the purpose of partial monopolies and pernicious restraints. During

³³⁵ Bacon, p. 44. Hollinghed's Description of England, p. 205. Styrpe, vol. i. p. 392. Stowe, p. 512.

³³⁶ See vol. x. ch. 5. sect. 1. ch. 6.

the present period, the manufacture of cloth was encouraged and augmented, by the refinement of Europe in taste and dress; and although the manufactures of England were now considerable, those of the Netherlands were still supported by large exportations that increased the demand, and enhanced the value, of English wool. A system of management, lucrative but pernicious, was thus promoted; lucrative to landholders, but pernicious to the country.

The system was severely felt in its consequences; in the beggary and diminished population of the peasants. Hamlets were ruined by oppressive encroachments; townships and villages of an hundred families were reduced to thirty, sometimes to ten. Some were desolate, demolished by the avarice of unfeeling proprietors; others were occupied by a shepherd and his dog³³⁷. These representations are transmitted by cotemporaries, and perhaps are exaggerated; yet a country appropriated to pasturage is thinly inhabited, and must be depopulated, by inclosures multiplied for the purpose of rearing sheep, and retrenching herdsmen. England, at a subsequent period, was regarded as better adapted for grazing than tillage; and in the reign of Elizabeth, the lands in culture were computed at a fourth of the kingdom³³⁸; yet the legislature were never inattentive, but interposed repeatedly (with what success may be justly suspected) to enforce cultivation, and repress the inordinate increase of

³³⁷ Strype, vol. i. p. 392. Latimer's Sermons, p. 12.

³³⁸ Stowe, p. 2. Hollingshed, p. 108.

pastures.

pastures. Early in Henry the Seventh's reign, a statute was enacted for the future support of those houses of husbandry, to which twenty acres had been formerly annexed; sanctioned by the forfeiture of half the rents, till the lands were occupied, and the houses rebuilt³³⁹. Severe forfeitures are not easily exacted; and it appears that a practice dictated by private gain, was neither suppressed by the vigilance of law, nor counteracted by the legal extortion of the monarch. A statute enacted under his successor, expatiates in the preamble, with apparent truth, on the extent of the mischief, and feelingly enumerates the complicated miseries which the increase of sheep, and extension of pastures, had inflicted on the poor³⁴⁰. The flocks of individuals, which sometimes exceeded, and often amounted to twenty thousand sheep, were restricted to two thousand; an inadequate remedy, frustrated apparently by the partial exception of hereditary opulence. Had the restraints imposed on the exportation of corn been transferred to wool, the internal consumption would have soon regulated the respective prices of those articles; the proportion between arable and pasture lands would soon have been adjusted, and the declining cultivation of the country prevented. An improved cultivation was reserved, however; for a future period, when persecutions extirpated manufactures from the Netherlands; when the exportation of English wool had subsided, and its price diminished, the farmer

³³⁹ Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 19. Bacon, p. 44.

³⁴⁰ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

or landholder, disappointed of his former exuberant profits, discovered the necessity of resuming the plough, and again restoring his pastures to culture.

While husbandry suffered such general discountenance, much improvement in its operations is not to be expected. A treatise of husbandry, ascribed to Fitzherbert, judge of the Common Pleas to Henry VIII. explains those operations chiefly practised and most approved. The instruments were nearly the same with ours; and as they have continued, during successive generations, with little alteration, are probably not susceptible of much improvement. The operations of husbandry were conducted apparently with more skill than in former periods. Directions are given for draining, clearing, and inclosing a farm; and for enriching and reducing the soil to tillage. Lime and marl are strongly recommended, but appear to have seldom been employed as manure. Fallowing was practised as preparatory to wheat, but not that rotation of crops and fallows which invigorates the soil or preserves its nutrition³⁴¹. When a field was exhausted by successive harvests the farmer suffered it to rest till recruited, and proceeded to cultivate a fresh field from a part of his pastures. An improved cultivation is produced by the skill and traditional knowledge which farmers accumulate; and the produce of their labour may enable us to estimate with sufficient precision their knowledge and skill. Sixteen and twenty bushels are assigned by Hollingshed as

³⁴¹ Fitzherbert's *Surveyinge & Husbandrie*, 1539, reprinted London 1767.

the usual return of an acre of wheat³⁴³; a poor return, that argues a fordid degree of cultivation; yet let us remember that at present, in the fertile and beautiful vale of Gloucester, eighteen bushels are the common produce obtained from an acre³⁴⁴. The prices were various; in years of scarcity seldom exceeding the present rates; but in those of abundance, from a restricted exportation, too low perhaps to afford an adequate recompence to the farmer. The greatest dearth appears to have happened in 1486, when the quarter of wheat sold at 11. 4s. (equal to 11. 17s. of our present money); but in subsequent years the prices subsided sometimes to 4s. (equal to 6s. of our modern coin). Famine and pestilence afflicted the country in 1521, and raised the quarter to 20s. (about 11. 11s.); but in 1527, though many perished in London from hunger, a large and seasonable importation from Dantzick restricted the price to 15s.³⁴⁴ It is observable that the dearths so frequent in former times, are generally attributed by our ancient chronicles to the rigour of the seasons; and with some truth, for whenever the culture is languid, every unexpected alteration of weather must influence the harvest, and produce an immediate deficiency of grain.

Leases, though not uncommon, were hitherto precarious; neither protecting the tenant from the entry of purchasers, nor securing his interest against

Leases.

³⁴³ Hollingshed, p. 210.

³⁴⁴ Marshall's Rural Oeconomy of Gloucestershire, vol. i, p. 129.

³⁴⁴ Stowe, p. 471. 481. 526. 536.

the operation of fictitious recoveries. To reinstate him when expelled by a new proprietor, an action of ejectment was sustained, about the 14 Hen. VII. in courts of law; but to restore him against a recovery required and obtained the authority of a statute³⁴⁵. Leases for three existing lives are recommended by Fitzherbert, to enable tenants whose sole stock is their personal labour, to surround their farms, and divide them by hedges into proper inclosures; by which operation, he says, “ If an acre
 “ of lande be worth six pens, or it be inclosed, it
 “ will be worth eight pens when it is inclosed, by
 “ reason of the compostyng and dongyng of the
 “ catell³⁴⁶.” But the advantage which he chiefly proposes to the farmer is more œconomical, the preservation of his corns without the expence of maintaining herdsmen. England, it is probable, to a sordid practice introduced into pasturage and adopted in husbandry, is indebted for those inclosures and minute subdivisions which distinguish its appearance from other countries, which increase its fertility, and bestow on its plains the interchangeable diversity of rich culture and luxurious woodlands.

Scotland.

Scotland during the present period had her historians; but such historians as were too much enamoured of great achievements to record the minute,

³⁴⁵ Blackstone, vol. iii. p. 199. 21 Hen VIII. c. 5. The action of ejectment was perhaps of an earlier date; but its benefit was not extended to tenants till this period.

³⁴⁶ Surveyinge, p. 95.

yet

yet instructive incidents of their own times. The situation of their country, of its arts and commerce, is seldom mentioned, or described so slightly that it is impossible to discover, not perhaps to conjecture with precision, the state of cultivation to which the country had attained. Its lands had formerly been held in *ward*, a military tenure, in Scotland peculiarly oppressive; on the feudal forfeiture, or during the wardship of the vassal, every subordinate grant was suspended; his tenants were removed, his sub-vassals ejected by the lord of the fee. Infeudations for rent had in 1457 been recommended, perhaps ineffectually, by parliament; but a statute enacted in 1503³⁴⁷, authorized the king and his vassals to make such infeudations for an adequate rent, and exempted the grants from the operation of ward. A partial cultivation was thus promoted; but the peasant's possession was either precarious, or his lease, which seldom extended to five years, of a duration too short to encourage improvement. His possession was precarious, but it was maintained by a general combination against intruders; new tenants were removed by murder, and the peasants, according to a contemporary, neither inclosed nor planted, nor endeavoured to meliorate the sterility of the soil³⁴⁸. A persuasion prevails that Scotland formerly was a cultivated country; but the state of agriculture must have been poor and languid that required for its encouragement a new tenure, and a perpetuity instead of a temporary interest. The summit of a

³⁴⁷ Black Acts, p. 42. 57.

³⁴⁸ Major's Hist. p. 7.

mountain

mountain may be marked by the plough; but before the vallies were cleared of wood, tillage was necessarily confined to hills. Religious houses might derive a large revenue of wheat from lands productive of none at present; but before the establishment of regular markets, while the articles of commerce were procured with difficulty, feudal proprietors stipulated with their vassals for whatever their domestic consumption required. Wheat at a future period was supplied from England, for the produce of the country consisted chiefly of oats and barley ³⁴⁹.

Garden-
ing.

Gardening, during the distractions of the civil wars, had been much neglected; but now it was prosecuted with more assiduity, and with such success, that to the present period is ascribed the introduction of various fruits and vegetables formerly known and produced in England. The fruit garden was enriched indeed by large accessions from foreign countries, and apricots, melons, and currants from Zante were introduced, for the first time, in the sixteenth century, about the middle of Henry the Eighth's reign ³⁵⁰. That sallads, cabbages, and other vegetables were unknown till then, is a general, but I believe a mistaken opinion. Sallads are mentioned early in Edward the Fourth's reign; and if we may credit Hollingshed, cabbages, turnips, and other roots, the produce of the garden, had been known and cultivated, but afterwards neg-

³⁴⁹ Fyne Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155.

³⁵⁰ Anderson, vol. i. p. 338. 355. 362.

lected.

lected³³¹. The introduction of the cherry is also ascribed to the latter part of the present period, but we have discovered it already in the thirteenth century; nor was it afterwards extirpated or forgotten in England³³².

Gardening, however, was practised more for Parks. utility than pleasure, and consisted chiefly in the culture of esculent herbs and fruits. The pleasure garden was reserved, I believe, for Elizabeth's reign, when a square parterre was inclosed with walls, scooped into fountains, and heaved into terraces. Yet the large and numerous parks of the nobility may be regarded either as contracted forests, or extended gardens³³³. Their extent comprehended several miles, and their number, in Kent and Essex alone, amounted to an hundred³³⁴. Such large inclosures were peculiar to England, and better entitled to the appellation of pleasure grounds,

³³¹ Fenn's Original Letters, vol. i. p. 288. Hollingshed, p. 208.

³³² Vide vol. viii. ch. 5. It appears to have been common, from the following rude verses, printed anno 1496, but composed, perhaps, at an earlier period:

" Who, that maðnyth hym wyth his kyne,
 " And clofyth his crofte wyth cherry trees;
 " Shall have many hegges brokynne,
 " And also full lytyll good servyes."

HERBERT'S Typographical Antiquities, vol. i. p. 129.

³³³ Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting, vol. iv. p. 126.

³³⁴ Hollingshed, p. 204. The earl of Northumberland possessed in Northumberland, Cumberland, and Yorkshire, twenty-one parks, containing five thousand seven hundred and seventy-one red and fallow deer, from which his table was supplied with twenty bucks in summer and twenty-nine does in winter. Setting Lent aside, this was more than a deer a week. Besides these, he had several parks in Suffolk, and other southern counties. *Northumberland Household Book.*

than

than those gardens of a future period, that exhibited in the vegetable, the mimic appearance of the animal creation.

In Scotland.

In Scotland, different laws were enacted for planting groves and enclosing with hedges; a proof that the woods were nearly exhausted, and that no provision had been made to renew them. By the same statutes the formation of orchards, gardens, and parks for deer, is imposed on the landholders, as a necessary improvement; but a spirit of improvement is excited in a country by causes very different from the penalties, or the barren injunctions of statutes³⁵⁵.

Hops and flax.

The culture of hops in the present period was either introduced or revived in England; and flax was attempted, but without success, though enforced by law³⁵⁶. Legislature at that time endeavoured to execute, by means of penalties, those national improvements which have since been fostered and cherished by bounties.

Breed of horses.

To the passion of the age, and the predilection of the monarch for splendid tournaments, may be attributed the attention bestowed on a breed of horses, of a strength and stature adapted to the weight of the complicated panoply with which the knight and his courser were both invested. Statutes of a singular nature were enacted, allotting for deer parks a certain proportion of breeding mares, and enjoining, not the prelates and nobles only, but those whose wives wore velvet bonnets, to have stallions of a certain size for their saddle. The

³⁵⁵ Black Acts, p. 104, 105. 108.

³⁵⁶ Hollingshead, p. 110, 111. 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

legal

legal standard was, fifteen hands in horses, thirteen in mares, and “unlikely tits” were, without distinction, consigned to execution³⁵⁷. James the Fourth, with more propriety, imported horses from foreign countries, to improve the degenerate breed of his own³⁵⁸. Artificial grasses for their winter provender were still unknown; nor were asses propagated in England till a subsequent period³⁵⁹.

There is a certain perfection in art to which human genius may aspire with success, but beyond which, it is the apprehension of many, that improvement degenerates into false taste and fantastic refinement. The rude simplicity of Saxon architecture was supplanted by the magnificence of the *ornamental* Gothic; but magnificence itself is at last exhausted, and it terminated during the present period in a style which some, with an allusion to literature, denominate the *florid*. Its characteristics are a profusion of ornaments, minute yet delicate; a finishing light and slender, from which apparent strength and solidity recede; walls surmounted by latticed battlements; windows less pointed, but broad and open; roofs divided by slight ribs into numerous compartments, fretted curiously like rich embroidery, interspersed with sculpture, and spangled with pencil and clustering decorations, like those grottoes where the oozing water is petrified before it distils from the vault. It is a style

Archi-
tecture.

³⁵⁷ 27 Hen. VIII. vol. vi. 36 Hen. VIII. vol. xiii. Vide Barington's Observations on the Statutes, p. 443.

³⁵⁸ Pittscottie, p. 153.

³⁵⁹ Hollingshed, p. 220. Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

cenfurable as too ornamental, departing from the grandeur peculiar to the Gothic, without acquiring proportional elegance; yet its intricate and redundant decorations are well calculated to rivet the eye, and amaze, perhaps to bewilder, the mind. In Somerfetshire, a county devoted to the caufe of Lancafter, feveral churches were rebuilt in this ftile by the gratitude or policy of Henry the Seventh; but the fuperb chapel which he erected in Weftminfter exhausted, it is probable, every ornament that tafte could dictate, or piety accumulate. The expence amounted to 14,000*l.* in quantity upwards of 20,000*l.* but in efficacy equivalent, perhaps, to 80,000*l.* of our modern coin; and the fabric exhibits a fplendid fpecimen of Gothic architecture, in its lateft, perhaps moft degenerate period. Chrift Church College was built by Wolfey in the fame ftile, and with fimilar tafte; but the genius of Gothic architecture languifhed after the death of that favourite, and expired with his fovereign. Grecian architecture was then introduced, but its orders, till a purer tafte was created, were intermixed promifcuoufly with thofe of the Gothic, producing a difcordant and barbarous afsemblage³⁶⁰.

Civil. The facred, imparted to civil architecture a character fo fited to the profufe magnificence of Henry the Eighth. His predeceffors had refided in caftles, or in houfes conftituted with few ornaments and little conveniency³⁶¹; but

³⁶⁰ Vide Wren's *Parentalia*. Bentham's *Hift. of Ely*. Warton's *Observations on Spencer*. Grofe's *Antiquities of England*. Pref.

³⁶¹ The Old Palace of Weftminfter, burnt in Henry the Eighth's reign, was a fortified place. Howel's *Londonopolis*, p. 346.

after

after the invention of cannon, and during a long season of profound repose, the utility of castles had ceased; the nobles solicited better accommodation, the king and his minister superior elegance. Whitehall, Nonfuch, and Hampton Court were erected, the former by Henry, the last by Wolsey, in the florid stile of the present period. Whitehall and Nonfuch have perished, but Wolsey's magnificence is still attested by Hampton Court; a residence, says Grotius, befitting rather a god than a king³⁶². Ancient buildings, the property of the crown, were either repaired or renewed by Henry; but his taste and rapacity were both gratified by the dissolution of the monasteries, and the conversion of religious structures into royal abodes. Dartford was appropriated to his use, and St. James's transformed from a nunnery to a palace³⁶³. His nobles began to remove the martial fronts of their castles, and endeavoured to render them more commodious³⁶⁴; but in architecture the nation participated neither the spirit nor the taste of its sovereign. The mansions of gentlemen were still sordid; the huts of the peasantry poor and wretched. The former were generally thatched buildings composed of timber, or, where wood was scarce, of large posts in-

³⁶² Si quis opes nescit, sed quis tamen ille,
Hamptoncourta tuos, consulat ille lares,
Contulerit toto cum sparsa palatia mundo,
Dicet ibi reges, hic habitare Deos. GROTII Poemata.

³⁶³ Hollinghed, p. 196. Stowe's Survey. Rymer, vol. xiv. p. 563.

³⁶⁴ Hollinghed, p. 194.

dle of the hall, and the smoke escaped through a perforation in the roof³⁷⁰.

In military architecture, whatever improvements Military. were produced on the continent, few alterations were adopted in Britain. Ancient castles were much diminished, nor was it the policy of the crown to rebuild them. As fortresses, they were dangerous yet not secure; dangerous to public tranquillity, yet not secure against regular sieges. Neither their strength nor construction was calculated, after the invention of artillery, to annoy besiegers, or resist the continued impression of cannon. Low batteries instead of turrets, and instead of square or circular, angular ramparts were, after the application of artillery to sieges, improvements requisite in military architecture; yet, unless some platforms of cannon for the protection of the Thames, and a few block-houses, too insignificant to acquire a name, no new fortifications were erected in England by either of the Henries³⁷¹. Their vigilance repressed or prevented internal discord, and the castles upheld on the borders were sufficient to resist the incursions of the Scots.

In manual operations skill and dexterity increase Metallic
arts. insensibly; nor is it possible, nor is it the scope of this history, to mark, in the progress of the arts, the silent improvement acquired by the artist. We may remark, however, that the increasing refinement of the period was conducive to the perfection,

³⁷⁰ Hollingshed, 188.

³⁷¹ Polydore Virgil, Hist. p. 15. Stowe, p. 576. Hollingshed, p. 194.

Anno
1528.

as well as to the increase of the metallic arts. The luxury of the table descended to citizens, requiring so generally the use of plate, that there are few, says Polydore, whose tables are not daily provided with spoons, cups, and a salt-cellar of silver. Those of a higher sphere affected a greater profusion of plate³⁷²; but the quantity accumulated by cardinal Wolsey, though the precious metals are now so copious, still continues to excite our surprise³⁷³. At Hampton Court, where he feasted the French ambassadors and their splendid retinue, two cupboards, extending across the banquet chambers, were piled to the top with plate and illuminated; yet without encroaching on these ostentatious repositories, a profuse service remained for the tables³⁷⁴. From the complaints of the people, reiterated even

³⁷² Polydore Virgil, p. 13. His testimony is explicit. Yet the scarcity, or rather total want of plate in the Northumberland family, is a singular exception. *Treen*, or wooden plates, were used in the family, and pewter vessels were hired on solemn festivals. The luxury of London, and the southern countries had certainly not extended to the north, where old families, whose journeys to court were only occasional, and never voluntary, affected to retain the manners of the former age. (See Lodge's Illustrations of British History, vol. i.) Besides, the Northumberland family was seated too near the borders, and its castles were too frequently plundered by the Scots, for any quantity of plate to be accumulated or purchased. *Northumberland Household Book*.

³⁷³ See Cavendish, ch. 17.

³⁷⁴ Stowe, p. 537. Cavendish. Two hundred and eighty beds were provided for the guests; a goodly company. "Every chamber," says Stowe, "had a basin and an ewer of silver, a great livery pot of silver, and some gilt; yea, and some chambers had two livery pots with wine and beer; a silver candlestick, having in it two sizes, yet the cupboards in the two banquetting chambers were not once touched."

in parliament³⁷⁵, we may infer that the artificers were often foreigners; yet in one art, the manufacture of pewter, such merit was imputed to English workmen, that they were prohibited by statute from quitting the realm, or imparting their *mystery* to foreign apprentices³⁷⁶. Carving, gilding, embroidery, the making of clocks, and probably other ingenious metallic arts, had been practised in monasteries; and their suppression furnished a considerable accession of useful artists³⁷⁷. Pins, such as are used at present, were fabricated in the latter end of the present period; yet it is observable that the legislature, whose interference in manufactures is seldom salutary, attempted for a time to suppress this trivial but useful art³⁷⁸.

While foreign artificers were discountenanced in England, an opposite policy was attempted in Scotland; and if we may credit historians³⁷⁹, workmen of every description were collected from different countries by James the Fifth. His endeavours to introduce manufactures, or to improve the rude arts that were practised in Scotland, are represented as partly successful; but they were partly frustrated by his premature death. Mines of gold, discovered during his father's reign, were wrought by Germans under his directions; and from these mines, the first

In Scotland.

Mines.

³⁷⁵ 14 Hen. VIII. c. 2. ²¹ Hen. VIII. c. 16. ²² Hen. VIII. c. 13. ³² Hen. VIII. c. 16. ³⁷⁶ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

³⁷⁷ Strype, vol. i. p. 372. Fenn's Orig. Let. vol. ii. p. 31.

³⁷⁸ 34. 35 Hen. VIII. c. 6. ³⁷ Hen. VIII. c. 13. Anderson, vol. i. p. 372.

³⁷⁹ Pitcottie, p. 153. Hawthornden, p. 114.

in Scotland, it is said that he extracted considerable treasure³⁸⁰. It is possible that their produce, while labour was cheap, and before the influx of wealth from America, might have been valuable; but it is more probable that the undertaking soon ceased to defray the expence. In the same region, instead of the precious metals, mines of the richest lead have been since discovered; but the gold that was formerly sought by monarchs is reduced to a few minute fragments, gathered by the shepherd from the sands deposited by the winter torrents.

Clothing
Arts.

The clothing arts, if retarded formerly by the civil dissensions, were now promoted by various circumstances,—the tranquillity of the period, the policy ascribable to Henry VII. the magnificent court which his son supported, and the gaiety, taste, and refinement of the age. There were few insurrections, and these insufficient to subvert the government. Henry VII. was attentive, next to his own, to the national interest; and when he laboured, both by treaties and private assistance, to encourage the spirit of commercial adventure, we may presume that manufactures, the true source of commercial intercourse, were not neglected³⁸¹. It is said, on what account I have not discovered, that the woollen manufacture was improved and extended by workmen whom his bounty allured from

³⁸⁰ Hawthornden, p. 114. Boethius, *Descript. Reg. Scot.* p. 6. The spars and crystals of the lead-hills are easily recognized in the jaspers, rubies, and adamants, with which the warm imagination of Boethius has impregnated these hills.

³⁸¹ See in Leland's *Collectanea*, vol. iv. p. 203, an instance of the king's attention to the trade of Bristol, then declining.

Flanders,

Flanders³⁸², and it is certain that the period of English prosperity commences after the decline of Bruges, the removal of its commerce, and the dispersion of its artists. The splendid dissipation of his son's reign was, if possible, more propitious to manufactures, than the father's prudence. His policy was seldom judicious; but his example served to diffuse and to countenance a taste for magnificence. The nobility and gentry, renouncing their former rustic hospitality, frequented his court, where their fortunes were dissipated in a mutual emulation of costly equipage and rich attire. Nor was this peculiar to courtiers, or confined to the English; refinement had already pervaded Europe, and instructing every rank to aspire to a better situation and to superior enjoyments, re-acted on commerce from which it originated, and redoubled the produce of those manufactures by which it was gratified.

It must be confessed, however, that in England the dress of the wealthy, and in some measure the homely clothing of the poorer orders, were supplied from abroad. Silks, velvets, and *cloth of gold*, an article at that time in high estimation, were imported from Italy; coarse fustians from Flanders, of a texture so durable that the doublet lasted for two years³⁸³. The manufactures were judiciously confined to woollens, the extent of which is attested in different statutes, by the varieties fabricated and the quantities exported. Of a slighter texture or

³⁸² Anderson, vol. i. p. 306.

³⁸³ Ibid. p. 306. 376. 21 Hen. VII. c. 28.

inferior quality thirteen different cloths are enumerated; but the fabrication of broad-cloth was adjusted and regulated with an anxious precaution³⁸⁴. The repeated provisions that regard exportation, may convince us that the quantity exported was then considerable; but a better proof is discovered in the constant and otherwise unaccountable increase of prices. The exportation of cloth was restrained by statute, till *shorn, rowled*, or completely manufactured; but an exception was granted in 1486, for rays, vesses, and white woollens, whose prices exceeded not forty shillings. At the distance of twenty-seven years, cloths of the same description and quality acquired an exemption when below five merks, and after an interval of twenty years the exception was again extended to four pounds³⁸⁵. It is true, the voice of the legislature is not always the organ of truth, but credit is due to its information wherever the times extort a reluctant concession. The manufactures of a nation are commonly estimated by its positive situation at different periods; a juster measure may be obtained from the relative situation of other states, its competitors and rivals. At a time when the manufactures of the Netherlands were prosperous, and those of Spain still considerable³⁸⁶, England, indebted to neither for her internal consumption, appears to have furnished from

³⁸⁴ See Stat. Hen. VII. and VIII. passim.

³⁸⁵ Stat. 3 Hen. VII. c. 11. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 7. 5 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
27 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

³⁸⁶ Anderfon, vol. i. p. 349.

the surplus of her manufactures a large exportation. Her sales were chiefly confined to the Netherlands, then the emporium of exchange through Europe; but her foreign commerce was daily extended; her traders, early in the sixteenth century, diffused her manufactures through the Grecian isles³⁸⁷, and discovered, in the middle of the same century, a new market in the Russian empire. A D.
1511-12.

Such were the woollen manufactures of England, more extensive than those of Spain, and rivalled only by those of Flanders. Their prosperity resulted from natural causes, not from systems concerted by the legislature, whose regulations are rarely dictated by a judicious policy. Regulations operate as restrictions; but the wisdom of Henry VII. is chiefly conspicuous in the few restrictions imposed on trade. Under his successors the interposition of parliament was frequent, often injurious, and sometimes productive of pernicious monopolies. The preparation of Yorkshire coverlets was confined to York, an ancient city, depopulated, says the statute, by the neighbouring villages³⁸⁸; but in Worcestershire the woollen manufactures were all restricted, for a similar reason, to five towns³⁸⁹. At a former period the exportation of wool had been prohibited, apparently without effect; but a power devolved on prerogative, of dispensing with the statute, operated, it is probable,

³⁸⁷ Hakluyt's Voyages, part ii. p. 96.

³⁸⁸ 34, 35 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

³⁸⁹ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 18. The towns were Worcester, Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Broomsgrove.

in occasional monopolies³⁹⁰. A patent obtained by the city of York for shipping wool, to the exclusion probably of the whole county, required a formal abrogation in parliament³⁹¹. The exportation of wool was immense; in one year sixty cargoes were dispatched to the Netherlands from Southampton alone³⁹². To agriculture the consequences were ruinous; to manufactures perhaps they were salutary. The rude produce exceeded the quantity employed at home; the surplus therefore was wisely exported; and every exportation enabled the kingdom, by increasing its capital, to enlarge the circle, and increase the produce of its own manufactures. But for an early and lucrative exportation of wool, England might still have been poor and wretched, without cultivation, and destitute equally of arts and of commerce.

The smaller manufactures were still inconsiderable; consisting principally of ribands, laces, and similar articles prepared by the silk company; and felt hats, a coarse manufacture established in London after the accession of Henry VIII.³⁹³ Cottons occur in the statute-book; an appellation bestowed, I suspect, on a species of woollen; for linen, even the coarsest dowlas, was derived from Flanders³⁹⁴. Hemp was introduced, and its culture recommended; not however for the weaver's

³⁹⁰ See vol. viii. ch. 5.

³⁹¹ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

³⁹² Anderson, vol. i. p. 381.

³⁹³ 19 Hen. VII. c. 21. Anderf. p. 332. Stowe, p. 870. Hats, however, are of greater antiquity; they are mentioned in the letters published by Fenn, and were probably imported by the Flemish so early as Hen. IV. See Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 83.

³⁹⁴ 21 Hen. VIII. c. 14. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 13.

benefit,

benefit, but to furnish materials for cordage and cables³⁹⁵. Tapestry-weaving was attempted, with what success is uncertain³⁹⁶. Among the smaller manufactures those of Scotland might probably be included; yet Hector Boethius, partial perhaps to his birth-place, celebrates the woollen manufactures of Dundee, and assures us that cloths of the whitest and most delicate texture were fabricated at Dumfries, and exported to England, Flanders, France, and Germany³⁹⁷. But whatever was the progress of Scotland in arts and commerce, her historians, regarding the subject as ungracious, have maintained a guarded and ambiguous silence.

The English are classed by Erasmus, with some truth, among those barbarians that are prone to war³⁹⁸. Is it the genius or the peculiar misfortune of the nation, when secure at home, to search abroad for military glory, to reject the tranquillity which their insular situation has always proffered, and in the wars of others, to which they ought to have no accession, to spend profusely their strength and treasures? Henry VII. had no inclination, his imprudent successor had no call, to unsheath the sword. His example is the first of an English monarch interposing to regulate the balance of Europe; but his victories were barren, his conquests transient, and succeeding princes who have imitated his example have seldom failed to inherit

Art of
war.

³⁹⁵ 24 Hen. VIII. c. 4.

³⁹⁶ Dugdale's Warwickshire, vol. ii. p. 584.

³⁹⁷ Descriptio Scot. pp. 3 & 5.

³⁹⁸ Ad Philippum Paneg. Vid. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, vol. ii. p. 171.

his

his fortune. His frequent levies preserved the national arms and discipline, but his foreign expeditions served merely to enure the English to the recent improvements in the art of war.

Raising
troops.

Military services had passed into desuetude, or were seldom exacted from the feudal tenants, unless for the purpose of pecuniary extortion. Forces were levied, for the defence of the kingdom by commissions of array, for expeditions abroad by indentures for soldiers³⁹⁹. When an invasion was apprehended from France or Scotland, commissions were issued through the different counties, for *mustering* the inhabitants in arms, selecting those that were fitted for service, and *arraying* them according to their rank and weapons⁴⁰⁰. Foreign wars were conducted by troops of mercenaries, raised by mutual indenture between the king and his officers. An indenture between the earl of Kent and Henry VII. provides, that the former shall furnish six men at arms, including himself, each attended by a page and custrel; sixteen demilances, sixty archers on foot, and twenty-one mounted on horseback; at the daily pay of 6d. (equivalent to 2s. 6d. of our present money) for each of the archers; 9d. (equal to 4s.) for the demilances; and 1s. 6d. (in its efficacy equal to 7s. 6d.) for the men at arms, their attendants and horses⁴⁰¹. Such indentures are numerous, and were certainly lucrative; for the principal nobility, on the same terms, contracted to furnish

³⁹⁹ See vol. ii. ch. 5. sect. i.

⁴⁰⁰ Rymer, vol. xiii. p. 300. 374. 399.

⁴⁰¹ Rym. vol. xii. p. 477.

the army with soldiers. Their service was temporary, limited commonly to the space of a year; for unless the yeomen of the guard, instituted by Henry VII., and the gentlemen pensioners by his son, (a band of archers and a troop of horse,) a military establishment was unknown in England ⁴⁰².

Their weapons and armour were, with little Arms. variation, such as the assize of arms had formerly appointed ⁴⁰³. Men at arms, whose prowess was most conspicuous, held the highest estimation; but the strength of the army still consisted in archers, now more formidable by the addition of halberts, which they pitched on the ground till their arrows were exhausted, and with which they resisted the impression of cavalry ⁴⁰⁴. Sometimes they fought intermixed with the common soldiers, who were armed indiscriminately with bills and spears ⁴⁰⁵. The troops were distinguished by scarfs and badges; but the diversity both of their dress and arms, must have given their arrangements a motley appearance ⁴⁰⁶.

Two hundred years had elapsed since the discovery of gunpowder, and its first application to the art of war; but fire-arms of a portable construction were a recent invention, that gave no promise of supplanting the bow. Hand-guns were first introduced; a species of small culverin without a stock, fastened to a tripod, and managed like a swivel ⁴⁰⁷; Fire arms.

⁴⁰² Hall, Hen. VII. p. 3. Grose's Milit. Antiq.

⁴⁰³ See vol. vi. ch. 5. sect. 1.

⁴⁰⁴ Herbert's Hist. p. 20.

⁴⁰⁵ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 9.

⁴⁰⁶ Grose's Milit. Antiq.

⁴⁰⁷ Daniel's Hist. de Milice.

but

but the musket, mounted on a stock and discharged from the shoulder, was employed in 1521, at the siege of Parma, and probably soon adopted in England⁴⁰⁸. Its form was clumsy, and its weight inconvenient; it was placed on a rest, and discharged by a match-lock; but the different operations requisite for the management of the rest and match (for adjusting the one, and blowing, fixing, and removing the other) perplexed the soldier, and rendered his discharges slow and irregular. Muskets, to facilitate their management, were then reduced to a diminutive size, till a statute prohibited those the length of whose stock and barrel was less than a yard⁴⁰⁹. But the bow was still preferred for its greater dispatch, and in the hands of an English archer it possessed, within a determinate range, a steadier aim and a greater execution⁴¹⁰. The musketeers were defective in skill; their muskets probably were ill-constructed, yet their fire was formidable to the men at arms, whose harness never resisted the stroke of a bullet.

Artillery.

The improvements produced on artillery are, at this distance, neither perceptible, nor of much importance. Brasses and iron ordnance had been procured from the continent, till a foundery for cannon was established in 1535, by Owen an Englishman⁴¹¹. Such a foundery had been attempted in Scotland at an earlier period, with some success, by Borthwick,

⁴⁰⁸ Belay. Herbert.

⁴⁰⁹ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 6. Vide Grose's Milit. Antiq.

⁴¹⁰ Life of Lord Herbert, p. 51.

⁴¹¹ Stowe, p. 371.

an artist in the service of James IV.⁴¹² Mortars and bombs were invented in 1544, by foreigners whom Henry VIII. employed⁴¹³.

In Scotland armies were levied by musters; and to render the inhabitants expert at arms, *weapon-shaws*, or reviews, were appointed four times, afterwards twice a year, in the different counties. The arms to be provided by every rank were adjusted as in England; suits of armour by the nobles, gentlemen, burgessees, and others, whose rents or whose goods amounted to 100 l.; jacks of plate and steel bonnets by persons of inferior rank and opulence, with swords and spears, or instead of the latter, with halberts or battle-axes, bows, culverins, or two-handed swords⁴¹⁴. The spear (whose length was seventeen feet) was the national weapon; a formidable weapon when projected by a steady and compact battalion. But the Scottish troops were deficient in discipline; when galled at a distance by the English archers, their impatience often precipitated their steps and disordered their ranks, intercepted the use of their unwieldy spears, and impelled them promiscuously on the sword of the enemy.

The necessary or useful arts may be concluded with printing, the utility of which is acknowledged, not merely as subservient to science, but as conducive to the perfection of whatever ministers to

⁴¹² Lesly, p. 353. The guns were cast in Edinburgh castle, and some of them remained with this inscription in Lesly's time. *Machina sum Scoto Borthuik fabricata Roberto.*

⁴¹³ Stowe, p. 584.

⁴¹⁴ Black A&S, p. 93. 130, 131.

comfort or elegance. Its introduction by Caxton has been noted⁴¹⁵; its improvement under his successor was such, that the types of Wynken de Worde have served, it is asserted, for Saxon characters to the present times⁴¹⁶. The books which he printed are numerous; but Pinson, Raftell, and others his competitors, contributed equally to the improvement of printing. The publications of these early printers were chiefly of a popular nature, legends, romances, religious discourses; books necessarily popular at every period, because they are calculated to agitate the passions, or amuse the untutored taste of the multitude. Some Latin grammars were also printed; but it is observable, that after the revival of letters, at a time when the ancients were studied, their languages adopted, and their elegance imitated, Terence, Virgil's Eclogues, and Tully's Offices were the only classical productions of the English press⁴¹⁷. But the printers were either translators or authors; their literature seldom extended to Latin; they had few classical readers to gratify, and their own vernacular compositions coincided happily with the national taste. The Germans were diverted from improving their language, by their numerous presses, conducted by scholars and teeming with classics; but the books that issued from the English press were adapted to those who were neither learned nor untinctured with letters, and promoted, ~~more~~ perhaps than the

⁴¹⁵ See vol. x. ch. 5.

⁴¹⁶ Herbert's *Typographical*

⁴¹⁷ *Id. passim.*

study of the ancients, the early refinement of the English language.

These printers have yet a merit in compiling the materials, and recording the annals of English story. Grafton, who printed the Bible, completed the Chronicles of Hall and Harding; and of those published by Hollingshed and Harrison, much must be ascribed to the previous collections of Wolfe, a printer, whose life was consumed in historical researches⁴¹⁸. Their presses, however, were confined to black letter, (the Roman character was seldom employed,) and were still inferior to those on the continent. The reformers printed abroad, a circumstance imputable to Henry's imperious supremacy; but the Bible which he authorized was attempted first at Paris, where workmen, it is said, were dexterous, and paper abundant⁴¹⁹. A paper-mill had been erected at Hartford, Anno 1507; but its paper probably was much inferior to that of the French⁴²⁰. Printing was also introduced into Scotland; but missals and statutes were the only productions of the Scottish presses.

⁴¹⁸ Vid. p. 502. 596. Hollingshed's Pref.

⁴¹⁹ Fox's Martyrs, vol. ii. p. 515.

⁴²⁰ Typograph. Ant. vol. i. p. 200.

S E C T. II.

History of the fine and pleasing Arts of Sculpture, Painting, Poetry, and Music, in Britain, from A. D. 1485 to A. D. 1547.

Fine arts.

THERE are certain imitative arts that solicit retirement, others that sicken in the shade, and only expand to the sunshine of courts, or the genial influence of popular favour. Poetry has prospered in obscurity, or under discountenance; but sculpture and painting are more dependent on the public regard, and require, particularly in an age emerging from rudeness, more immediate protection and patronage. None was to be obtained or expected from Henry VII. who had neither taste to relish, nor spirit to remunerate distinguished merit. His chapel may be ascribed to a pious solicitude for his future welfare, or regarded as an instance, a solitary instance, of vanity predominating over his avarice: but his tomb originated solely from vanity, and its merit is exclusively due to his successor, by whom it was erected and the expence defrayed.

Sculpture.

The tomb was executed, according to Stowe, by Peter T. a native of Florence⁴²¹; and in this obscure appellation antiquaries have discovered Pietro Torregiano, a sculptor, once the competitor of Michael Angelo. That artist's pre-eminence he had resented by a hasty blow, for which

⁴²¹ Stowe, p. 486.

he was expelled or departed from Florence; and after some vicissitudes of life, was retained as a sculptor by Henry VIII. and employed in erecting his father's monument⁴²². His reward was liberal; 1000*l.* for the materials and workmanship, (equivalent now to 5000*l.*) but it is easier perhaps to trace his history than pronounce on his merits⁴²³. The tomb was probably designed by another, as its taste is Gothic, and adapted, particularly in the outward shrine, to the style of the chapel. The minute and florid decorations of architecture, which often serve to distract the attention, are applied with peculiar advantage to monumental shrines, where the whole is comprehended at a single inspection, and of which the parts are susceptible of an exquisite polish⁴²⁴. The small statues that embellished the sepulchre are partly decayed; those of Henry and his consort remain; but whatever be their merit, it would be difficult to recognise in the sculpture a competitor worthy of Michael Angelo.

Sculpture seems to be a rarer talent, its perfection more unattainable than painting; and in the

Painting.

⁴²² Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, vol. i. p. 96.

⁴²³ Stowe. Walpole. He quitted England to settle in Spain, where, in his passion, he demolished an image he had carved for the Virgin, for which he was imprisoned by the inquisition, and, from madness or a lofty spirit, starved himself to death. Sir Antonio More for a similar offence met with a more lenient punishment. Philip king of Spain bestowed a familiar but rough slap on the painter's shoulders, which the latter returned with his cane; and for this the punishment was a temporary banishment. In Spain it is safer to assault the person of a living monarch, than to deface the statue of a dead virgin. Walpole, vol. i. p. 123.

⁴²⁴ See Dart's *Antiq. of Westminster Abbey*.

patronage of the latter, Henry certainly was more successful. Mabuse, a profligate Flemish painter, but of some merit, appears to have been employed in his father's court, whither he was probably driven by his own distresses, rather than allured by the monarch's bounty. The art, however, was little regarded till the son's reign, who endeavoured, it is said, to procure from Italy, Raphael and Titian; and under whose protection several Flemish and Italian painters frequented England. But their merit is obscured by that of the celebrated Holbein, who, for the softness and richness of his colouring, was preferred to the first Italian painters, at a time when painting had attained in Italy to its meridian splendor. He was first established in Basil, afterwards (1526) recommended by Erasmus to sir Thomas More, and passed the subsequent part of his life, with more security than his unfortunate patron, in the service of Henry VIII. and his son. His pencil, among its other employments, portrayed the beauties of Henry's wives, or of those whom Henry intended to wed; and to procure a just report of the latter, he was twice dispatched to the continent as the secret emissary of Henry's love. But he was not always a faithful emissary; his pencil, if impartial to the duchess of Milan, imparted unmerited charms to Anne of Cleves, and ensnared his master into a distasteful marriage; for which, while the painter escaped unpunished, Cromwell the minister lost his head. Princes in their marriages are now to be pitied; they must see and choose from a flattering portrait, and wed by proxy

proxy without inclination; but the disasters that Henry tasted in marriage provoke derision: Henry, who exalted his female subjects to his throne and bed, and when sated with their charms, like an Eastern tyrant, dismissed them to the scaffold. Holbein lived in England without a competitor, and died (1554) without a successor to eclipse his memory. His works, of which many are lost or dispersed abroad, are justly celebrated as dear to connoisseurs for the perfection of their colouring, dear to antiquaries for their age and scarcity⁴²⁵.

To painting may be added a subordinate art, Engrav-
ing. that copies and serves to diffuse its designs. Engraving was coëval in England with printing; a rude engraving, employed as a substitute for illuminating, to decorate the titles and initials of books. Some copper-plates were produced at the end of this period⁴²⁶; but these are only memorable as the first specimens in England of an art that aspires to imitate, though unable to emulate, the perfection of painting. Poetry and painting will still retain this material difference, that the works of the latter cannot be multiplied like those of the former, not at least in their original lustre; but the disadvantage is in some measure recompensed by this, that the productions of poetry are more local, confined to a district, a nation, a language; while those of painting, expressive only of natural ap-

⁴²⁵ Such is the eulogy pronounced by Mr. Walpole; himself a rare instance of taste united to a love of antiquities. *Anec. Paint.* vol. i. p. 94.

⁴²⁶ Walpole's Catalogue of Engravers, p. 5.

pearances, are intelligible in every region, to every nation.

Poetry.

The age of Henry VII. and his predecessor Richard, is characterised by the historian of English poetry as fertile in versifiers, but productive only of one that merits the name of poet⁴²⁷; yet in this exception there is reason to suspect that the historian's judgment was bribed, or his taste perverted, by a love of antiquity. Stephen Hawes, a groom of the chamber to Henry VII. composed, among other poems of obscure merit, the Temple of Glass, and the Pastime of Pleasure; but the one is a transcript from Chaucer, the other a prolix and tedious allegory; the conception of which required little invention, and of which the imagery is apparently of little value⁴²⁸. His versification, however, improves upon Lydgate's, and is far superior to Barclay's or Skelton's, contemporaries curious for the manners of the period, but as poets beneath attention. The truth is, that with every advantage derived from learning, with a language that approached, though it had not attained to its present state, English poetry, till refined by Surry, degenerated into metrical chronicles or tasteless allegories.

In Scotland.

It was different in Scotland, where poetry, such as Chaucer might acknowledge and Spencer imitate, was cultivated in a language superior to Chaucer's. Dunbar and Douglas were distin-

⁴²⁷ Warton's Hist. Poet. vol. ii. p. 165. 210.

⁴²⁸ Ibid. Warton has dissected the poem, but has given no favourable specimens of its particular merits.

guished

guished poets, whose genius would have reflected lustre on a happier period, and whose works, though partly obscured by age, are perused with pleasure, even in a dialect consigned to rustics. Dunbar, an ecclesiastic, at least an expectant of church preferment, seems to have languished at the court of James IV. whose marriage with Margaret of England he has celebrated in the Thistle and the Rose; an happy allegory, by which the vulgar topics of an epithalamium are judiciously avoided, and exhortation and eulogy delicately insinuated. The versification of the poem is harmonious, the stanza artificial and pleasing, the language copious and selected, the narrative diversified, rising often to dramatic energy. The poem from its subject is descriptive, but Dunbar improves the most luxuriant description by an intermixture of imagery, sentiment, and moral observation. The following is a specimen :

The purpour sone, with tendir bemys reid,
 In orient bricht as angell did appeir,
 Throw goldin skyis putting up his heid,
 Quhois gilt treffis schone so wondir cleir,
 That all the world tuke comfort, fer and neir,
 To luke upone his fresche and blifsfull face,
 Doing all fable fro the heivenis chace,

And as the blifsfull sonne of cherarchy
 The fowlis sung throw comfort of the licht;
 The burdis did with open voicis cry,
 O luvaris fo, away thow dully nicht,
 And welcum day that comfortis every wicht;
 Hail *May*, hail *Flora*, hail *Aurora* schene,
 Hail princes Nature, hail Venus, Luvis quene.

The Golden Terge is another allegorical poem of Dunbar's, constructed in a stanza similar to Spencer's, but more artificial, and far more difficult⁴²⁹. In description perhaps it excels, in sentiment it scarcely equals the Thistle and Rose. Its narrative is not interchanged with dialogue; its allegory refers to the passions, the dominion of beauty, the subjection of reason, and is less fortunate than the Thistle and Rose, whose occult and secondary signification is an historical truth that subsists apart, and however embellished, cannot be obscured by the ostensible emblem. When the passions or the mental powers are personified and involved in action, we pursue the tale, forgetful of the thin abstraction, to which it is relative; but to remedy this, the Golden Terge has a merit in its brevity which few allegorical poems possess. The allegorical genius of our ancient poetry discovers often a sublime invention; but it has intercepted what is now more valuable, the representation of genuine character, and of the manners peculiar to ancient life. These manners Dunbar has sometimes delineated with humour, in poems lately retrieved from oblivion⁴³⁰; and from them he appears in the new light of a skilful satirist and an attentive observer of human nature.

Gavin Douglas, his contemporary, was more conspicuous by the rare union of birth and learning, and is still distinguished as the first poetical

⁴²⁹ Like Spencer's it consists of nine verses, restricting however to two rhimes instead of three which Spencer's admits of.

⁴³⁰ Vide his Poems in Pinkerton's Collection.

translator of the classics in Britain. Early in youth he translated Ovid *de Remedio Amoris* (a work that has perished); at a maturer age, Virgil's *Eneid* into Scottish heroics; a translation popular till superseded, at the close of the last century, by others more elegant, not more faithful, nor perhaps more spirited⁴³⁰. His original poems are *King Hart* and the *Palace of Honour*, allegories too much protracted, though marked throughout with a vivid invention; but his most valuable performances are prologues to the books of his *Eneid* stored occasionally with exquisite description. As a poet, he is inferior to Dunbar, neither so tender nor so various in his powers. His taste and judgment are less correct, and his verses less polished. The one describes by selecting, the other by accumulating images; but with such success, that his prologues descriptive of the winter solstice, of a morning and evening in summer, transport the mind to the seasons they delineate, teach it to sympathise with the poet's, and to watch with his the minutest changes that nature exhibits. These are the earliest poems professedly descriptive; but in description Scottish poets are rich beyond belief. Their language swells with the subject, depicting nature with the brightest and happiest selection of colours. The language of modern poetry is more intelligible, not so luxuriant, nor the terms so harmonious. Description is still the characteristic, and has ever been

⁴³⁰ It was finished in sixteen months; and till Dryden's appeared, seems to have been received as a standard translation: till then it was certainly the best translation.

the principal excellence of Scottish poets; on whom, though grossly ignorant of human nature, the poetical mantle of Dunbar and Douglas has successively descended⁴³¹.

In Eng-
land.

Poetry revived in England under Henry VIII. and was cultivated by his courtiers as a vehicle of gallantry; but by none more than the brave but unfortunate Surry, who had taste to relish the Italian poets, and judgment to reject their affected, though splendid conceits. His sonnets were once celebrated, but are now neglected; unjustly neglected, for their merit is considerable, and their influence imparted a new character to English poetry. Surry was inspired by a genuine passion, and his sonnets breathe the unaffected dictates of nature and love. Tendernefs predominates in the sentiment, ease and elegance distinguish the language. From these sonnets, the earliest specimens of a polished diction and refined sensibility, succeeding poets discovered the capacity and secret powers of the English tongue. They are not numerous, though sufficient to effect a reformation in poetry, nor discriminated always from the sonnets of others; but of those whose authenticity is certain, the complaint uttered in confinement at Windsor, touches irresistibly the heart with woe. Blank verse, now peculiar to English poetry, had been recently attempted in Italian and Spanish, and was first transplanted by Surry into some transla-

⁴³¹ Other poets of inferior reputation flourished during this period in Scotland; but it is the purport of this history to record the progressive improvements, not the stationary merit of poetry.

tions from Virgil, which discover rather the concinnity of rhyme than the swelling progression of blank verse. As a specimen of his poetry, our limits only admit of a sonnet, selected for the variety, choice, and compression of its images.

The foote season that bud, and bloome fourth brings,
 With grene hath cladde the hyll, and eke the vale,
 The nightingall with fethers new she sings;
 The turtle to her mate hath told her tale:
 Somer is come, for every spray now springes,
 The hart hath hunge hys olde head on the pale,
 The bucke in brake his winter coate he flinges;
 The fishes flete with newe repayred scale:
 The adder all her slough away she flynges,
 The swift swallow pursueth the flies smalle,
 The busy bee her honey now she mynges;
 Winter is worne that was the flowres bale.
 And thus I see among these pleasant thynges
 Eche care decayes, and yet my sorrow springes.

In the refinement of poetry, the elder Wyat is supposed to have co-operated with Surry, as both studied in the Italian school⁴³²; but he follows at a submissive distance, with an unpliant genius and untunable numbers. His verses are amatory and satirical, or rather didactic; but in the first, as his passion was fictitious, its utterance is harsh. With the taste he adopted the affectation of the Italians, and in his sonnets labours perpetually at some hopeless conceit. Yet his numbers burst sometimes into melody, and his satires exhibit, with much obscu-

⁴³² Warton's Hist. of Poet. vol. iii. p. 28.

city, an occasional strength and propriety of thought and diction.

**Dramatic
Poetry.**

Dramatic poetry was attempted after the revival of letters, or rather mysteries of the church, were converted in the universities into regular dramas. Plays on historical or religious subjects, were composed in Latin for the students to perform; and the authors probably succeeded better in their observance of the rules, than in their imitation of the divine spirit of the Grecian stage. These spectacles could never be popular; but occasional *interludes* were written in English⁴³³, and performed by students in the inns of court, or by itinerant minstrels in the halls of the nobility. The poetry is worthless, memorable only as the first productions of the English drama⁴³⁴. Philotus, a comedy in the Scottish language, is ascribed to the close of this period, and some interludes were written by Lindsay of the Mount, a Scottish poet, whose laurels are faded⁴³⁵.

**Church
Music.**

The imitative arts, as their primary object is the gratification either of sense or passion, are not necessarily allied to religion, to which occasionally they have been rendered subservient; and accordingly some are rejected by the orthodox, others retained as instrumental to devotion. Painting and sculpture are proscribed as idolatrous, poetry and

⁴³³ Vide one in the Harleian Miscell. vol. i. p. 98.

⁴³⁴ Warton, vol. ii. p. 366.

⁴³⁵ Pinkerton's Ancient Scot. Poems, Pref. 110. Lindsay's remains are in the Banatyne Manuscript. I have not found that they are of much value.

music cherished as sacred ; nor did the reformation produce in England an immediate alteration on the music of the church. Counterpoint, the invention of a former period, was improved, in the present, particularly by the introduction of discords, to provoke attention, or relieve from satiety. The plain chants of the church were selected by composers, as a basis for florid counterpoint and figurative harmony, recent improvements, constructed on the continent with all the artificial perplexity of fugue and canon. Such artifices as the last were disregarded, or seldom adopted by English composers, whose masses and other choral productions are characterized as grave in their style, and according to the rules at that time established, correct in their harmony, free from imitations, and marked with an originality apparently national. Compared with the recent perfection of music, they are deficient however in measure and melody, design and contrivance ; but perhaps it is the misfortune of music, that its refinement terminates in a fastidious delicacy, unwilling to be pleased, and in its desire of novelty rejecting whatever has already delighted⁴³⁶. The productions of these early masters have preserved their names ; and now that flattery is silent, Taverner, Shepherd, and Parsons, have obtained, in the annals of music, the precedence of their Sovereign. Henry VIII. from the skill of a performer, aspired to the merit of an original composer ; his instruments were the recorder, the flute,

⁴³⁶ Burney's Hist. of Music, vol. ii. pp. 461. 466. 507, 555.

the virginals; and his genius sometimes condescended to furnish his courts with ballads, and his chapel with masses⁴³⁷. His name is forgotten among poets, but his music seems to have survived his reign; yet of two productions, a motet and an anthem, ascribed to his finger, the one from its mediocrity is admitted to be genuine, the other is supposed to exceed the capacity of a royal musician⁴³⁸.

Secular
music.

It is difficult to speak with precision of secular music, of which the written specimens are few, and the traditionary antiquity vague and uncertain. Popular melodies were originally simple, acquired with ease, and transmitted without the assistance of notation, till adopted by composers, disfigured by a multiplicity of new variations, and so perplexed by a redundancy of notes, that their difficulty constituted their only merit. Such was the employment of secular composers, who, instead of attempting invention in air or melody, produced, it is said, from simple songs, an elaborate assemblage, to the execution of which the skill and dexterity of modern performers are confessedly unequal⁴³⁹. The melodies peculiar to Scotland escaped such torture, and some of them, from their style or the subject of their verses, are ascribed by conjecture to the present period⁴⁴⁰. New songs are adapted daily to former tunes, and whatever be the antiquity of Scottish

⁴³⁷ Herbert's Hist. p. 2. 13. Hollingshed, vol. ii. p. 806.

⁴³⁸ Burney, vol. iii. p. 1. Hawkins's Hist. Mus. vol. ii.

⁴³⁹ Burney, vol. ii. p. 553.

⁴⁴⁰ Arnot's History of Edinburgh, App. 8.

music,

music, (ancient it is, and perhaps the produce of different periods,) the poetry is recent; but conjectures are not admissible as a substitute for historical certainty.

The improvement of secular music was perhaps retarded by the imperfect construction of musical instruments. The organ, I believe, was appropriated to the church; the clavicord, virginals, and harp, to the chamber. Wind instruments are described as of various constructions; but it is observable of instruments played with keys, or blown by reeds, that the intonation is defective, not susceptible of nice modulation⁴⁴¹. The viol was in much request; but its finger board was fretted, its intonation limited; and it is asserted that, before the adoption of the violin, perfection in harmony was unknown to mankind⁴⁴².

Musical
instru-
ments.

⁴⁴¹ Figures of these instruments are to be found in Hawkins's *Hist.* vol. ii.

⁴⁴² Burney, vol. ii. p. 553.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER VI.

The History of Commerce, Corn, and Shipping in Great Britain, from the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

THE accession of Henry VII. to the throne of England was an event favourable to the commerce of that kingdom in several ways. It put an end to a long and ruinous civil war, which had thrown every thing into confusion, and inflamed the minds of one half of the people with the most violent hatred against the other; a situation in which commerce could not flourish¹. It placed

Accession
of Henry
favourable
to trade.

¹ See vol. x. ch. 6.

on the throne a prince in the prime of life, of a sound and good understanding, improved by the observations he had made in foreign countries, and fully convinced of the great importance of commerce, both to the crown and to the people, by increasing the revenues of the one and the riches of the other. Accordingly we find, that Henry was no sooner seated on the throne, than he began to turn his thoughts to trade, to remove the obstructions by which it had been interrupted, and to procure the English merchants and mariners a free course to and favourable reception in all parts of the world. With this view he cultivated peace with all his neighbours, and concluded commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe. Nothing can give our readers a more distinct idea of the trade of England in this reign, than by laying before them the substance of those commercial treaties in as few words as possible.

Commer-
cial treaty
with
France.

The trade between England and France had been interrupted in the late reign, and Henry made so much haste to terminate all disputes with that kingdom by a truce, in which freedom of trade and commercial intercourse were stipulated, that it was proclaimed in the beginning of October A. D. 1485, even before his coronation². This truce, which was only for one year, was prolonged for three years more, January 17th, A. D. 1486, with additional securities for the freedom of trade³.

² Rym. tom. xii. p. 277.

³ Ibid. p. 281.

About the same time Henry dispatched his almoner into Italy, with a very extensive commission, to negotiate commercial treaties with the king of Naples, and with all the other princes and states of that country. In that commission, he discovers that he had very just and liberal sentiments of trade, as beneficial to all nations, by procuring them what they wanted in exchange for what they could spare. "The earth (says he) being the common mother of all mankind, what can be more pleasant and more humane than to communicate a portion of all her productions to all her children by commerce?" We have no particular account of the success of this commission, but it could not be unsuccessful. The maritime states of Italy could have no reason to decline a commercial intercourse with England.

With
Italy.

This prudent prince lost no time to accommodate all differences with his nearest neighbours the Scots, and to lay open the trade between the two British kingdoms, for their mutual benefit. He concluded a truce for three years from July 1st, A. D. 1486, with James III.; the chief object of which was, besides the cessation of all hostilities by sea and land, to procure the free admission and friendly treatment of the merchants and mariners of the one country in the other⁵. He had it also much at heart to establish a more cordial peace between the two nations, by several intermarriages between the two royal families. But in that he

Scotland.

⁴ Rym. tom. xii. p. 283.

⁵ Ibid. p. 285.

was unhappily disappointed, by the untimely death of king James.

Florence.

Henry granted, June 8th, A. D. 1486, a free conduct to Michael de Seprello, Mark Stroze, and all other merchants of Florence, for ten years, to come into his dominions with their ships, to dispose of their goods as they pleased, to purchase and export wool, woollen cloths, tin, lead, and other merchandize, without danger or molestation, upon paying the usual customs⁶. Such a safe-conduct was not unnecessary, as the Italian and other foreign merchants had been often insulted and plundered in the ports of England.

Brittany.

Henry, in the same first year of his reign, concluded a commercial treaty with Francis duke of Brittany, (who had been his protector in his distresses,) to continue in force during their joint lives, and one longer. In this treaty many stipulations are made that discover a thorough knowledge of trade, and an anxious concern to render it mutually beneficial to the subjects of the contracting parties⁷.

With Burgundy.

A similar treaty was made about the same time with Maximilian king of the Romans, as guardian to his infant son Philip duke of Burgundy and Brabant and earl of Flanders. The object and stipulations in this were the same with those in all other commercial treaties, and a very great trade was carried on between England and the Low Countries⁸.

⁶ Rym. tom. xii. p. 300. ⁷ Ibid. p. 303. ⁸ Ibid. p. 320.

The Italian and other foreign merchants paid double custom in England on goods they imported and exported, which was no small discouragement to trade. Though Henry certainly loved money too well, and was not very apt to exact less than his right, he wisely considered, that by lowering the customs payable by foreign merchants, he would encourage a greater number of them to frequent his ports, and thereby rather increase than diminish his revenues. He made the experiment, and granted, February 18th, A. D. 1488, to the merchants of Venice, Florence, Genoa, Lucca, and of all other Italian cities, for three years, a considerable abatement of the customs on some articles of export⁹. We are not particularly informed of the success of this experiment; but we know that the commercial intercourse between England and Italy was at this time very great, and that the Italian merchants took off great quantities of English cloth, lead, tin, &c. for which they returned velvets, silks, gold lace, with the spices and other precious commodities of the east¹⁰.

Reduction
of customs.

Henry concluded two commercial treaties with John king of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, A. D. 1490, by which he procured several privileges to his subjects who traded to these countries, and particularly to the English fishers on the coasts of Iceland and Norway¹¹. In a word, this active intelligent prince had the interest of commerce so

With
Denmark,
&c.

⁹ Rym. tom. xii. p. 335.

¹⁰ Anderson's History of Commerce, vol. i. p. 304.

¹¹ Rym. tom. xii. p. 374. 381.

much at heart, that in the four first years of his reign he renewed old, or formed new commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe, and thereby procured his trading subjects a favourable reception and friendly treatment in all places, which revived the trade of England from that languor and decline into which it had fallen by the confusions of the late times.

numer-
l laws.

This was not the only method by which Henry VII. contributed to revive and increase the trade of England. He procured several laws to be made to promote the same patriotic purpose. The greatest part of the foreign trade of England had hitherto been carried on by foreigners in foreign bottoms. Henry was sensible that this prevented the increase of English ships and English sailors; and to remedy this in part, he procured a law to be made in his first parliament, that no Gascony or Guienne wines (to which the English had been long accustomed, and of which he knew they were very fond) should be imported into any part of his dominions, except in English, Irish, or Welsh ships, navigated by English, Irish, or Welsh men, which obliged them to build ships and go to sea, or to want their favourite liquor¹². This law was enforced and enlarged by an act made in the third parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1487, to which the following preamble was prefixed: "That where
" great minishing and decay hath been now of late
" time of the navy of this realm of England, and

¹² Stat. 1 Hen. VII. c. 8.

“ idleness of the mariners within the same, by the
 “ which this noble realm, within short process of
 “ time, without reformation be had therein, shall
 “ not be of ability, nor of strength and power to
 “ defend itself.” To prevent this, it was enacted,
 that no wines of Gascony and Guienne, or woads of
 Tholouse, should be imported into England, except
 in ships belonging to the king, or some of his sub-
 jects; and that all such wines and woads imported
 in foreign bottoms should be forfeited¹³. From
 this act we may observe, that Henry VII. so early
 as A. D. 1487, had ships of his own, which he
 either employed in trade or freighted to his mer-
 chants: a practice which he pursued during his
 whole reign, by which he gained much money,
 while he increased the shipping, sailors, and trade of
 his dominions.

A few years before the accession of Henry VII. Discove-
ries.
 a spirit of maritime enterprize and adventure, for
 the discovery of new and unknown countries, had
 sprung up in some parts of Europe, which soon
 produced very great and surprising effects. The
 Portuguese in particular, animated and directed by
 their intelligent sovereign John II. attempted to
 discover a passage by sea to the East Indies, to ob-
 tain a share in the trade of those countries, which
 had enriched the Venetians and other Italian states.
 In this attempt they failed along and explored all the
 west coasts of Africa as far as the Cape of Good
 Hope, which they reached A. D. 1487; but there

¹³ 4 Hen. VII. c. 10.

they stopped short, and proceeded no further in their discoveries for several years.

Christo-
pher Co-
lumbus.

In the mean time, an extraordinary man had reasoned himself into a persuasion that there was a great continent and many islands beyond the Atlantic Ocean, and had formed the bold design of attempting the discovery of that New World. This was the justly celebrated Christopher Columbus, one of the most adventurous, intelligent, and sagacious sailors that ever lived, to whom mankind are indebted for bringing one-half of the world acquainted with the other. Though Columbus was fully convinced himself, he knew it would not be easy to convince others of the existence of such a country, and that he could not attempt the discovery of it without the aid of some powerful prince or state. Being a Genoese by birth, he made his first application to the republic of Genoa, A. D. 1482; but that state declined embarking in the enterprize. He next applied to John II. king of Portugal, who he knew to be intent on making discoveries. King John received him favourably, and seemed inclined to engage in the undertaking; but referred him to a committee of his council, with whom he was to settle all preliminaries. With this committee he had many meetings; they made many objections, and asked many questions, to which he returned answers with unsuspecting frankness. When they had obtained, as they imagined, all the information he was capable of giving, they privately fitted out a ship to make the discovery. Columbus, justly irritated at this ungenerous attempt

tempt to deprive him of the honour and profit of his project, which had cost him so much thought, expence, and toil, left the court of Portugal in disgust, A. D. 1484 ¹⁴.

Not yet discouraged, he next repaired to the court of Spain, and sent his brother Bartholomew into England, to solicit the means of attempting the proposed discovery, A. D. 1485. Bartholomew was unfortunately taken by pirates on his passage, who stripped him of every thing, and chained him to the oar. At length he made his escape, and arrived in England A. D. 1489, almost naked, and emaciated by his sufferings. In this situation, without credentials, without money, and without friends, he could not procure access to the king or his ministers; but endeavoured to support himself by making maps and sea charts. When he had recovered his health, and could make a decent appearance, he presented a map of the world to the king, which procured him an audience of that prince, and an opportunity of explaining the commission he had received from his brother. Henry heard him with attention, examined all circumstances, and thinking his success probable, he agreed to his proposals, and sent him back with an invitation to his brother to come into England; but before Bartholomew arrived in Spain, his brother Christopher had sailed on his second voyage to the islands he had discovered in the first ¹⁵. Thus it was by the misfortunes of Bartholomew Columbus, and not by the avarice of Henry VII. that the

Sends his brother to England.

¹⁴ Churchill's Voyages, vol. ii. p. 557—658.

¹⁵ Ibid.

English lost the honour of being the first discoverers of the New World: but it may be justly doubted whether this was any real loss to them, or their posterity. Spain could not seem to have gained either honour, power, population, or prosperity of any kind, but rather to have been a loser in all these respects by the discovery.

*Discovery
of New-
foundland,
&c.*

But though Henry and his subjects were thus deprived of the honour of being the first discoverers of the New World, they were determined to have a share in the discovery. John Cabot, a Venetian, had resided several years in Bristol as a merchant and mariner, in which last capacity he had acquired great knowledge by many voyages. Having heard of the fame and success of Columbus, he presented proposals to Henry VII. for attempting similar discoveries. His proposals were readily accepted, and the king granted letters patent, March 5th, A. D. 1496, to him and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, to sail with five ships under English colours for the discovery of unknown countries, which had never been visited by any Christians, and granting to them and their heirs all the countries they discovered, to be held of the crown of England, reserving to himself and his heirs a fifth part of the nett profits¹⁶. Besides this, he fitted out a gallant ship for this expedition at his own expence, and some merchants of London and Bristol provided four smaller vessels. With this little fleet John Cabot sailed from Bristol in spring, A. D. 1497, and directing his course to the

¹⁶ Rym. tom. xii. p. 595.

north-

north-west, on June 24th he discovered the island of Newfoundland, and soon after the island of St. John. He then sailed down to Cape Florida, and returned to Bristol with a good cargo and three natives of the countries he had discovered on board. He was graciously received, and knighted by Henry on his return¹⁷. From this well-attested account it appears, that the English were the first discoverers of the continent of America; and therefore, according to the political casuistry of those times, had a better title than any other European nation to the possession of that quarter of the globe¹⁸. That title, however, at the best, is very questionable.

Though Henry VII. was thus disposed to encourage and assist his subjects in making foreign discoveries, he was not the less attentive to the concerns of commerce nearer home. A misunderstanding having arisen between him and Philip duke of Burgundy and earl of Flanders, A. D. 1493, all the Flemings were banished from England and all the English from Flanders, and a total stop was put to the trade between these two countries. This was equally disagreeable and distressful to the people of both countries, who had long carried on a great trade with one another, to their mutual advantage. This pernicious interruption of trade was not of long duration. A very correct and comprehensive commercial treaty, between

Commer-
cial treaty.

¹⁷ Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 4, &c. Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. iii. p. 461, &c.

¹⁸ See Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, vol. i. p. 336. 3d edit.

Henry

Henry and Philip archduke of Austria and sovereign of the Netherlands, was signed at London February 24th, A. D. 1496, in which every precaution was used to render the intercourse between the subjects of the two princes secure, permanent, and profitable to all concerned¹⁹. It was called *intercurfus magnus*, (the great commercial treaty,) and gave no little joy to the merchants and manufacturers of both countries. When the English returned to Antwerp, (to which they had removed their factory from Bruges a few years before,) they were conducted into that city in triumph, and were received with every possible demonstration of joy.

Act of
parlia-
ment.

On this occasion a violent contest broke out between the merchants residing in the capital, who had been long incorporated under different names, and now called themselves The Company of Merchant Adventurers of London, and the merchants who resided in other cities and towns, who called themselves The Merchant Adventurers of England. The London Company had been long accustomed to impose a kind of tax or composition on the English merchants residing in other places, for liberty to buy and sell in the great fairs of Flanders, Brabant, and other countries on the continent. This tax was at first only half an old noble (3s. 4d.), and was demanded by the London merchants, who then called themselves The Fraternity of St. Thomas Becket, on a religious pretence, to enable them to do honour to their favourite saint, and thereby gain his protection. But by degrees this imposition

¹⁹ Rym. tom. xii. p. 578.

was raised so much, that it now amounted to twenty pounds, to the great discouragement of trade. The merchant adventurers therefore, who resided in the out-ports, applied to parliament for a redress of this grievance, and an act was made A. D. 1496, reducing that fine to ten merks sterling²⁰.

Henry VII. still continued to encourage the trade of his subjects by new commercial treaties with foreign states, and even with particular towns. He concluded such a treaty with the magistrates of Riga in Livonia A. D. 1498, in which it was stipulated, that the English should pay no tolls or customs in the port of Riga, and that the merchants of Riga should pay the same tolls and customs in the ports of England with other merchant strangers²¹. They also engaged to remit a debt of 10,637 gold nobles due to them by England. The stipulations in this treaty were very unequal, and so were the contracting parties.

Commer-
cial treaty.

It would be tedious to mention all the commercial treaties of Henry VII. It will therefore be sufficient to remark, that, in his negotiations and treaties with foreign princes and states, he never forgot the concerns of commerce, or neglected to procure some advantage to his mercantile subjects. He was particularly complaisant to the citizens and merchants of London, to whom he communicated the earliest intelligence of all important events and transactions; and by the punctual payment of his debts his credit in the city was unbounded. He even lent considerable sums of

Henry VII.
attentive
to trade.

²⁰ Stat. 12 Hen. VII. c. 6.

²¹ Rym. tom. xii. p. 701.

money

money to merchants, to enable them to extend their trade, and sometimes he became a partner in their adventures, and received his proportion of the profits²².

Weights
and mea-
sures.

Henry VII. was no less attentive to the internal than to the external or foreign trade of his dominions, and procured several wise laws to be made, for regulating their commercial intercourse with one another. Of these it will be sufficient to mention only one, whose salutary effects were extensive and of long duration. The great diversity of weights and measures in different parts of England was very perplexing and inconvenient, and several laws had been made to reduce them to uniformity; but inveterate custom had hitherto proved too strong for all these laws. An act was made therefore in the fourth parliament of Henry VII. A. D. 1494, which promised to be more effectual, because greater care was taken to secure its immediate execution. It was enacted, "That unto the knights
" and citizens of every shire and city, assembled
" in this present parliament, barons of the cinque
" ports, and certain burgessees of burgh towns,
" before they depart from this present parliament,
" be delivered one of every weight and measure,
" which now our sovereign lord hath caused to be
" made of brass, for the commonwealth of all his
" subjects and lieges within this his realm of Eng-
" land, according to the king our sovereign lord's
" standard of his exchequer of weights and mea-
" sures." These knights, citizens, and burgessees,

²² Campbell, vol. i. p. 330.

are

are directed to deliver these brass weights and measures to the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns which they represented, according to a schedule annexed to the act, containing their names, in number forty-three. The inhabitants of all these cities and towns, and the districts around them, are commanded to provide themselves before the feast of St. John Baptist with weights and measures, exactly agreeable to those brass standards, and sealed with the letter H. crowned, and from thenceforward to use no other weights or measures. The mayors and bailiffs in the several cities and towns are required to call in all the weights and measures of the people within the jurisdictions twice a year, to examine them by the standards, to break and burn such as were found defective, and to fine their proprietors, for the first offence, 6s. 8d.; for the second, 13s. 4d.; and for the third, 20 shillings and the punishment of the pillory²³. Though the king and parliament had been at great pains and no little expence in making this law and providing for its execution, it was soon after found that a mistake had been committed, and that the weights and measures which had been sent to the several cities and towns were not exactly agreeable to the standards in the exchequer. This mistake was rectified by an act made by the next parliament 1496. By that act the mayors and bailiffs of the cities and towns to which weights and measures had been sent, were commanded to return them to the exchequer, there to be broken in pieces,

²³ 11 Hen. VII. c. 4.

and

and new ones more correct to be sent in their room. While these laws were strictly executed they were not ineffectual. But as the strict execution of them was attended with no little trouble, and various inconveniencies to the magistrates of towns and cities, it was gradually relaxed, and the former irregularities in weights and measures gradually returned.

Colonies.

Though sir John Cabot had discovered the isles of Newfoundland and St. John and the coast of North America, and had taken possession of them in the name of the king of England so early as A. D. 1497, no attempt was made to establish colonies in any of these countries. But Henry VII. soon after began to entertain thoughts of forming colonies in the New World, or at least to encourage his subjects to form them. This appears from a commission which he granted A. D. 1501 to Hugh Elliot and Thomas Ashurst merchants in Bristol, John Gunsalus and Francis Fernandus natives of Portugal, “ To sail with as many ships
“ and mariners as they thought proper, with English colours, into the parts and countries of the
“ eastern, western, southern, and northern seas, to
“ discover, recover, and investigate any islands,
“ coasts, and countries of heathen and infidel
“ parts of the world, and to set up the king’s
“ banners and ensigns in whatever town, castle,
“ island, or continent they should discover, and to
“ hold the same for our use as our lieutenants.
“ 2. Whenever any discovery shall be made, it is
“ our will that men and women from England be
“ freely

“ freely permitted to settle therein, and to improve the same, under the protection of these “ grantees²⁴.” From hence it appears, that it was the intention of these adventurers to establish a colony in the country they hoped to discover, and that the king approved of their design. What discoveries they made we are not informed, but it is certain they did not plant a colony; and it will afterwards appear that no permanent colony was established by the English in any part of the New World for a whole century after the date of this grant.

Henry VII. was too fond of money not to be a friend to trade, which added to his own revenues as well as to the riches of his subjects; and there is sufficient evidence that the commerce and wealth of England increased considerably under his government. A cotemporary historian thus concludes his character of Henry VII. “ Surely this “ good prince did not devour and consume the “ substance and riches of his realm; for, by his “ high policy, he marvellously enriched his realm “ and himself, and yet left his subjects in high “ wealth and prosperity. The proof whereof is “ manifestly apparent, by the great abundance of “ gold and silver yearly brought into this realm, “ both in plate, money, and bullion, by merchants “ passing and repassing out and into this realm with “ merchandise, to whom he himself of his own “ goods lent money largely, without any gain or “ profit, to the intent that merchandise, being of

Henry's
treasures

²⁴ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 37.

“ all

“ all crafts the chief arte, to all men both most
 “ profitable and necessary, might be the more
 “ plentifully used, haunted, and employed in his
 “ realms and dominions²⁵.” Henry was possessed
 of those qualities which contribute most effectually
 to render their possessors rich. He was well ac-
 quainted with all the arts and pretences of squeez-
 ing money from his subjects, and exacted whatever
 he pretended to be his right with unrelenting
 rigour; at the same time he was an anxious wake-
 ful œconomist, and kept most exact accounts of all
 his expences, even the most trifling²⁶. But with
 all his arts of getting and saving money, he could
 not have accumulated so great a mass of treasure as
 he left in his coffers at his death, if his subjects,
 particularly his mercantile subjects, had not been
 opulent for those times. The accounts we have
 of the amount of these treasures are very different.
 Lord chief justice Coke affirms, that they amounted
 to the enormous sum of five millions three hundred
 thousand pounds²⁷. Sir Robert Cotton states
 them at four millions and a half, besides wrought
 plate, jewels, and rich furniture²⁸. These ac-
 counts, though seemingly well attested, are hardly
 credible. One would rather be inclined to think
 that there was not so much money in the kingdom
 in those times, before any of the precious metals
 from the New World had reached England. The
 account given by Lord Bacon (which hath been

²⁵ Hall, Hen. VII. f. 61.

²⁶ See Append. No. iii. No. iv.

²⁷ 4 Institut. ch. 35.

²⁸ Answer to the Reasons for Foreign Wars, p. 53.

already

already mentioned) is more moderate, and probably nearer the truth.

James IV. king of Scots, the contemporary and son-in-law of Henry VII. was an intelligent and active prince, and studied to promote the prosperity of his subjects by promoting trade. With this view many laws were made in his reign, all of them well intended; but as trade was then very imperfectly understood, few of them were either wise or useful, and too many of them impracticable or pernicious. Among the useful laws may be reckoned those for the uniformity of weights and measures, if they could have been carried into execution²⁹; but though these laws were often renewed, they were never effectual. The importance of the fisheries was well understood. This appears from the preambles to those acts, obliging all cities, towns, prelates, and barons to fit out busses for the fisheries, of twenty tons and upwards, with a certain length of lines and nets, and a certain number of hands³⁰; nor were these acts ineffectual, as the Scots fisheries were at this time flourishing and lucrative.

Trade of
Scotland.

Commer-
cial laws.

Wherever there is trade, and imposts on goods exported and imported, there will be smuggling, or attempts to avoid the payment of these imposts, unless the risk of loss can be made greater and more certain than the prospect of gain, by making such attempts. To prevent smuggling, and to secure the payment of the king's customs, was the object of several statutes in this period. These

²⁹ Black Acts, James IV. Act 131.

³⁰ Ibid. Act 81.

statutes were very simple, and probably not very effectual. By an act of the first parliament of James IV. A. D. 1488, " It was statute and ordinance, that in time to come, all manner of ships, strangers, and others, come to the king's free burrows, sic as Dumbarton, Irvine, Wigtoun, Kircudbright, Renfrew, and other free burrows of the realm, to pay their dues and customs, and take their cocket as effiers³¹." The ports particularly mentioned in this act are now, and were then, very inconsiderable in comparison of many others which are not mentioned. But their inhabitants were zealous partizans of that predominant party which had lately slain their sovereign, and this first parliament of James IV. was composed wholly of the heads of that party. To such a degree will faction sometimes influence public deliberations.

So imperfectly was commerce understood at this time in both the British kingdoms, that they imagined they could bring the balance of trade in their own favour, and add daily to their stock of gold and silver, merely by making laws to compel all merchants, foreigners as well as natives, to import a certain quantity of coin or bullion, in every ship, in proportion to the value of the other goods; to lay out all that coin and bullion, together with all the money they received for their goods, in purchasing the commodities of the country; and not to export any gold or silver in coin or bullion, under the severest penalties. Such

³¹ Black Acts James IV. Act 11.

laws were made both in England and Scotland in this period³²; but they served only to betray the ignorance of those who made them, and could not be executed. When the value of the imports into any country exceeds the value of the exports, the balance must be paid in the precious metals, in spite of a thousand laws to the contrary. By another law, equally absurd and hurtful to trade, no ships were suffered to sail from any port in Scotland from the first of November to the first of February. Sailing in the three winter months was esteemed too dangerous to be permitted³³.

The staple of the trade of Scotland was several times changed. It had been anciently fixed at Campvere in Zealand, whose earl married a daughter of James I. From thence it was settled at Bruges in Flanders, which in the fifteenth century became the center of trade to almost all the nations of Europe. It was removed from thence by act of parliament to Middleburgh in Zealand, where it did not continue, but was restored to its ancient station at Campvere. The senate and magistrates of Middleburgh never desisted from importuning James IV. and after his death the duke of Albany, to have the staple returned to their town; and having gained the secretary Mr. Panter, by a promise of three hundred gold crowns, they entertained great hopes of success³⁴; but in this they were disappointed. Secretary Panter acquainted them, that when the affair was debated in council he

³² James IV. Act 30.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Epist. R. R. S. tom. i. p. 276.

was ill of a fever; and that the people of Campvere had made such interest to prevent so precious a morsel which had so much enriched their town being torn from them, that he imagined they would prevail³⁵. He was not mistaken. When the city of Antwerp was in its greatest glory, the emporium of almost all the nations of Europe, the senate and magistrates applied to James V. A. D. 1539, to fix the staple in their city, promising peculiar privileges and immunities to his subjects. The people of Campvere, alarmed at this application of such formidable rivals, exerted all their influence to retain what they had long enjoyed, and of which they knew the value. To determine this question king James summoned a convention of merchants from all the trading towns of the kingdom; and finding the members of this convention almost equally divided in their opinions, he granted every one liberty to do what he thought most for his advantage³⁶. On this permission some of the merchants carried their staple commodities to Antwerp; but as they did not meet with the favour and encouragement they expected, they gradually returned to Campvere. All this competition between so many towns seems to indicate that the trade of Scotland in this period was not inconsiderable.

Conservator.

Wherever the staple was fixed, an officer called the Conservator of the Scots Privileges, was stationed, with authority to protect the privileges that had been granted to the Scots merchants, and to

³⁵ Epist. R. R. S. tom. i. p. 284.

³⁶ Ibid. tom. ii. p. 55.

determine

determine all disputes that arose among those merchants, with the assistance of four of them as his assessors. By act of parliament A. D. 1503, the merchants are prohibited from prosecuting one another before any other judges than the conservator and his assessors³⁷. By another act of the same parliament, the conservator is commanded to come to Scotland once every year, or to send a procurator sufficiently instructed to give an account of his transactions, and to answer to any complaints that have been made against him³⁸.

The accession of Henry VIII. to the throne of England was no disadvantage to trade, though he did not understand it so well nor attend to it so much as his father had done. He was young, ostentatious, and fond of pleasure; possessed of a prodigious mass of treasure, and unboundedly expensive in his household, dress, tournaments, disguisings, and diversions of all kinds. He was too well imitated in this splendid expensive way of living by those of the nobility and men of fortune, who frequented the court, and aspired to the notice and favour of the youthful monarch. This occasioned an uncommon demand for many costly commodities, as clothes of gold and silver, velvets, silks, embroideries, jewels, plate, wines, spices, &c. and that demand was supplied by trade. This trade was for some time chiefly carried on by the merchants of Venice, Genoa, and Florence, to whom the strongest assurances were given of safety and

Accession
of Henry
VIII. fa-
vourable
to trade.

³⁷ Black Acts, James IV. c. 116.

³⁸ Ibid. c. 117.

friendly treatment in the ports of England³⁹. By degrees, however, these foreigners became so unpopular, that it was hardly in the power of government to protect them; and this trade came gradually into the hands of the English merchants. We may form some idea of the great importation of cloth of gold, cloth of silver, vandeikin, velvet, damask, sattin, sarcenet, sarston, camblet, and other cloths of silk, and of silk and gold and silver, in the beginning of this reign, from an act of parliament A. D. 1513, in which it is said, “that three or four thousand pieces of these cloths were commonly imported in one ship⁴⁰.” This trade was more profitable to the merchants than to their country.

Circle of
trade en-
larged.

That spirit of mercantile adventure which had sprung up in the preceding reign still continued and increased, and the circle of trade was gradually enlarged. The trade of the English in the Mediterranean was become so considerable, that it was found necessary to establish a consul in the island of Chios in the Archipelago A. D. 1513⁴¹. Though no English colonies were as yet settled in any part of the new world, it appears that the merchants carried on a trade with these countries, and even with the islands in the West Indies, which had been seized and settled by the Spaniards; and that they had agents residing in some of these islands, particularly in the great island of Cuba, for the management of their trade⁴². Many voyages

³⁹ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 271.

⁴¹ Rym. tom. xiii. p. 353.

⁴⁰ 4 Hen. VIII. c. 6.

⁴² Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 500.

were undertaken in this reign for the discovery of unknown countries, in order to enlarge the circle of trade; but the accounts we have of these voyages are very short and imperfect. It appears that Henry VIII. fitted out a fleet, for making discoveries in the South Sea, A. D. 1516, and gave the command of it to Sir Thomas Pert vice-admiral of England, and the famous Sebastian Cabot; but all we know farther of this expedition is, that it was unsuccessful, owing to the cowardice of Sir Thomas Pert⁴³. Mr. Thorne of Bristol was one of the greatest merchants and boldest adventurers in England in this reign. He had not only factors residing in Cuba, but he sent agents in the Spanish fleets, furnished with great sums of money, to bring him exact descriptions and charts of the seas, rivers, and lands, visited by these fleets⁴⁴. Mr. Thorne, by his letters, earnestly intreated Henry VIII. not to be discouraged by the ill success of his first attempts to make discoveries, but to persevere and to direct his researches towards the north, for which his dominions were most conveniently situated. He gave the king also some very prudent advices for conducting his future voyages of discovery⁴⁵; but what regard was paid to the entreaties and advices we are not informed. Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth, father of the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, made three very successful voyages in a ship of his own to the coast of Brazil, and in his passage he traded

⁴³ Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 498.

⁴⁴ Ibid. p. 726.

⁴⁵ Ibid, vol. ii. p. 498, 499.

with the Negroes of Guinea. Mr. Hawkins, by his good behaviour, became so great a favourite of the Brazilians, that one of their kings came voluntarily with him into England, and being presented to Henry VIII. at Whitehall, excited great admiration by the strangeness of his dress and appearance⁴⁶. Mr. Hore of London, who was an accomplished gentleman as well as an adventurous merchant, was not so fortunate as Mr. Hawkins. Having prevailed upon thirty young gentlemen to accompany him in a voyage of discovery, they sailed from Gravesend in April A. D. 1536, with two ships, the Trinity and Minlon, and about one hundred and twenty men. After a tedious voyage of about two months they discovered the island of Cape Breton, and some time after the island since called Newfoundland. They sailed along the coasts of that island, endeavouring, but in vain, to gain some communication with the natives, till their provisions began to fail, and they were by degrees reduced to such extreme distress, that they came to a resolution to determine, by casting lots, which of them should be first sacrificed to the preservation of their companions. In that awful moment a French ship approached, which the perishing English immediately assaulted and seized, and, to their inexpressible joy, found her almost loaded with provisions. They removed a sufficient quantity of the provisions into their ships, and set sail for England. They arrived at St. Ives in Cornwall in October the same year; but so emaciated, that

⁴⁶ Hackluyt, vol. ii. p. 700.

their

their nearest relations could hardly recognize them⁴⁷. Other evidence, if it were necessary, might be produced, to prove that the English in this reign enlarged the circle of their trade, by visiting several countries with which they had formerly been unacquainted.

Henry VIII. endeavoured to encourage commerce by various other methods. He made commercial treaties with almost all the princes and states of Europe; in which, and in his other treaties, he took care to secure certain privileges to his mercantile subjects⁴⁸. In his reign, and most probably by his influence, several acts of parliament were made for removing all obstructions to navigation out of the great rivers, and for deepening smaller ones, to make them navigable⁴⁹. He repaired the harbours of Scarborough, Southampton, and several other towns; and on the port of Dover alone he expended between sixty and seventy thousand pounds. He built a great many strong forts at the mouths of rivers, and the most exposed parts of coasts, for the security of shipping and of the country. Great pains were taken in this reign to clear the surrounding seas of pirates; and the king on some occasions discovered the greatest anxiety for the safety of his merchants ships⁵⁰. For the improvement of navigation, the famous maritime guild or fraternity called the Trinity-house of Deptford, was instituted A. D. 1512; and similar fraternities were soon after esta-

Hen. VIII.
encourag-
ed trade.

⁴⁷ Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 129.

⁴⁸ Rym. tom. xiii. passim.

⁴⁹ Stat. temp. Hen. VIII.

⁵⁰ Strype's Mem. vol. i. p. 27—33.

blished

blished at Hull and Newcastle upon Tyne, for the instruction and examination of pilots, erecting of beacons, light-houses, and buoys, and for various purposes, to prevent shipwrecks⁵¹. But it is the peculiar glory of Henry VIII. that he may be stiled the founder of the royal navy of England, by appointing a board of commissioners of the navy, and by erecting storehouses for all manner of naval stores, and making yards and docks at Woolwich and Deptford for building and equipping ships of war. From these and other facts that might have been mentioned, it plainly appears, that Henry VIII. paid no little attention to trade, and that his endeavours to promote and encourage it were not altogether in vain.

But though the intentions of Henry and his ministers were favourable to commerce, their knowledge of it was so imperfect, that not a few of their laws and regulations were rather hurtful than beneficial. Of this it would be easy to give many examples, but a few will be sufficient. What could be more unreasonable in itself, or more obstructive to the freedom of commerce, than that law, which was so frequently renewed and so strongly enforced, against the exportation of gold or silver in coin or bullion, and commanding all native merchants to import a certain quantity of these precious metals in every ship; and obliging foreign merchants to invest all the money they received for the goods they imported in the com-

⁵¹ Anderson's Hist. Com. vol. i. 342.

modities of the country⁵²? Several corporations obtained monopolies by acts of parliament, which must have been hurtful both to trade and manufactures; and they obtained them on very strange suggestions. The bailiffs and burgesſes of Bridport in Dorſetſhire preſented a petition to parliament A. D. 1529, repreſenting that the people of their town had been in uſe, time out of mind, to make the moſt part of the great cables, halfers, ropes, and other tackling for the royal navy, and for the moſt part of all other ſhips within the realm, by which their town was right well maintained. But that of late years certain evil-diſpoſed perſons in the neighbourhood had begun to make cables, halfers, and ropes, by which their town of Bridport was in danger of being ruined, and the prices of cables, halfers, and ropes, were greatly enhanced. The firſt of theſe allegations might be true; but the ſecond was certainly a moſt impudent and glaring falſehood. The increaſe of manufacturers could not raiſe the price of the goods manufactured. It muſt have had a contrary effect, which was undoubtedly the real grievance of the good people of Bridport. On this falſe and abſurd ſuggeſtion, an act was made that all the hemp that grew within five miles of Bridport ſhould be ſold only in that town, and that no perſon within five miles of Bridport ſhould make any cables, halfers, ropes, hilters, &c. on pain of forfeiting all the goods they made⁵³; an act no leſs imprudent than it was unjuſt. One other example will be ſufficient to

⁵² Stat. 4 Hen. VII. c. 23.

⁵³ Stat. 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

convince

convince us, that very pernicious laws were made in this period, (and perhaps not in this period only,) on very absurd pretences. The city of Worcester, the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, and Bromesgrove, represented to parliament A. D. 1533, that the said city and towns were well inhabited, and their inhabitants well maintained, by making woollen cloths of various kinds; but that of late years, divers persons dwelling in the hamlets, towns, and villages of the shire of Worcester, for their own lucre, had begun to exercise cloth-making of all kinds, to the great decay, depopulation, and ruin of the said city and towns. Upon this representation, an act was made, that no person of any degree in Worcestershire should make any cloth to be sold, except such persons as resided in the city of Worcester, or in the towns of Evesham, Droitwich, Kidderminster, or Bromesgrove⁵⁴. That such restrictive laws were unfriendly and hurtful both to trade and manufactures is obvious, though it was certainly not the intention of the legislators to hurt them. Good intentions are not sufficient to make good legislators. Prudence and caution to prevent being deceived by interested persons, patient laborious investigation, and a thorough knowledge of the subject on which the laws are to be made, are no less necessary than good intentions. But notwithstanding these and several other obstructions to trade which might have been mentioned, there is sufficient evidence that the commerce of England

⁵⁴ 25 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

was considerably extended and increased in the reign of Henry VIII.

If commerce was but imperfectly understood in England in this period, it was still more imperfectly understood in Scotland. Several laws relating to trade were made in the reign of James V. but they were all restrictive, and tended rather to curb than to encourage a spirit for mercantile adventures. None but the inhabitants and freemen of royal boroughs were permitted to engage in trade; and even they were not permitted to engage in it unless they had a certain stock in money or goods⁵⁵. While Henry VIII. encouraged his subjects to undertake long and dangerous voyages for the discovery of unknown countries, James V. made laws to prohibit his subjects from putting to sea in the three winter months⁵⁶. Trade could not flourish under such restrictions.

As money and ships are two great instruments of commerce, without which it cannot be carried on, it is necessary to give a brief account of the state of them in every period of this work.

Though a pound is one of the most common denominations of money, it never was a real coin, either in gold or silver, in any age or country. Such large and ponderous coins would have been in many respects inconvenient. But for many ages, both in Britain and in other countries, that number of smaller coins which was denominated a pound in computation, or a pound in tale, really contained a pound of silver; and they might have been and frequently

Pound in weight and pound in tale the same.

Began to differ.

⁵⁵ Black Acts, James V. ch. 27.

⁵⁶ Ibid. ch. 37. 34. So.

were

were weighed, as well as numbered, to ascertain their value. If the number of coins that were denominated a pound in tale did not actually make a pound in weight, an additional number of coins were thrown into the scale to make up the weight. This was a fair and honest practice; the departure from which occasioned many difficulties, mistakes, and impositions in money transactions, both in foreign and domestic trade.

About the beginning of the fourteenth century, Edward I. having exhausted his treasures by his long and expensive wars with Scotland, coined a greater number of pennies, halfpennies, and farthings out of a pound of silver than formerly; which gave rise to the distinction between the pound in weight and the pound in tale. The difference at first was very small, and hardly perceptible; but it gradually increased in every succeeding reign; and at the accession of Henry VII. the nominal pound, or the pound in tale, was little more than half a real pound in weight, and contained only as much silver as thirty-one shillings of our money at present⁵⁷.

Shillings. Groats, weighing each forty-three grains, had been hitherto the largest silver coins: but Henry VII. A. D. 1504, coined shillings, then commonly called festoons, each weighing 144 grains, equal to three groats, and to twelve pennies. They were fair and beautiful coins, for those times; but they are now become so exceedingly rare, that it is imagined that no great numbers of them were coined⁵⁸.

⁵⁷ See vol. iv. p. 278, &c. vol. vi. p. 294, &c. vol. viii. p. 345, &c. vol. x. p. 263, &c.

⁵⁸ Folkes on Coins, p. 19. edit. 1763.

Henry VII. made several alterations in the form and devices of the coins of England. Instead of the full face that appeared on the coins of former kings, and which bore little or no resemblance to the prince intended to be represented, his face appears in profile, and bears a great resemblance to his real countenance. Still further to distinguish his coins from those of preceding or subsequent kings of the same name, the number VII. was added immediately after the name: this practice hath been followed by all his successors. He laid aside the open crown of former kings, and appears upon his coins with an arched imperial crown, surmounted by the globe and cross. To prevent clipping, he caused a circle to be made at the very edge of his coins. The silver coins of Henry VII. were shillings or festoons, groats, half-groats, pennies, half-pennies, and farthings, of the same weight and value with those of his two predecessors, Edward IV. and Richard III.⁵⁹

Silver
coins.

Henry VII. coined a great deal of gold as well as of silver; but his gold coins in general bore the same names, and were of the same weight and value with those of his two predecessors, which have been already described⁶⁰. He was however the first king of England who coined those large and beautiful pieces of gold called sovereigns, value forty-two shillings of those times, and half-sovereigns, value twenty one shillings: he coined also quadruple sovereigns, weighing each an ounce of gold; but these last were undoubtedly designed for medals,

Gold
coins.

⁵⁹ M. Leake, p. 179. See vol. x. p. 263, 264. ⁶⁰ Id. *ibid*.

and

and not for current coins⁶¹. The gold coins of Henry VII., as they are enumerated in an act of parliament A. D. 1503, were sovereigns and half-sovereigns, ryals, half-ryals, and quarter-ryals, nobles and half-nobles⁶². All the coins of Henry VII., both of gold and silver, were of standard purity. He possessed too much money, and loved it too well, to sink its value by too great a number of baser metals.

Henry
VIII.

Henry VIII. coined a great deal of money in his long reign. In the former part of it, his coins were of the same kinds and of the same weight and fineness with those of his predecessors, which have been described. But towards the end of his reign, after he had squandered all his father's treasures, the grants he had received from parliament, and the great sums he had derived from the dissolution of the religious houses, he began to diminish his coins both in weight and fineness. This diminution at first was small, in hopes perhaps that it would not be perceived; but after he had got into this fatal career, he proceeded by rapid steps to the most pernicious lengths. In the thirty-sixth year of his reign, silver money of all the different kinds was coined, which had only one half silver and the other half alloy. He did not even stop here; in the last year of his reign he coined money that had only four ounces of silver and eight ounces of alloy in the pound weight; and the nominal pound of this base money was worth only nine shillings and threepence three farthings of our present money⁶³. He

⁶¹ Leake, p. 182. ⁶² 18 Henry VII. c. 5. ⁶³ M. Folkes, p. 27.

began to debase his gold coins at the same time, and proceeded by the same degrees. But it would be tedious to follow him in every step. In this degraded and debased condition Henry VIII. left the money of his kingdom to his son and successor Edward VI. This shameful debasement of the money of his kingdom was one of the most imprudent, dishonourable, and pernicious measures of his reign; it was productive of innumerable inconveniences and great perplexity in business of all kinds, and the restoration of it to its standard purity was found to be a work of great difficulty.

It had long been a great obstruction to trade and to improvements of every kind, that lending money upon interest was declared by the church to be usury, and highly criminal in Christians. This prevented laws being made for regulating the rate of interest; and the money-lenders (many of whom were Jews) took advantage of the necessity of the borrowers, and exacted most exorbitant interest. They had invented also several curious devices to elude the penalties of the laws against usury. Of these evils many complaints had been made; and by an act of parliament A. D. 1545, the interest of money was fixed at ten per cent.; and if any person took more, he was to forfeit three times the sum lent, the one half to the king, and the other to the informer. In the same act, the various tricks and devices that had been practised by the money-lenders, to escape the penalties of the laws against usury, are enumerated and prohibited ⁶⁴.

Interest of
money.

⁶⁴ 37 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

Scotland.

The coins of Scotland were originally the same with those of England, in weight, purity, and value; and continued to be so till about the middle of the fourteenth century, when they began to fall a little below them. This difference in the coins of the two British kingdoms gradually increased; and not long after the beginning of our present period, the nominal pound of Scotland was only equal to one-third of the nominal pound of England. This appears with the clearest evidence, from the contract of marriage between king James IV. and the princess Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII. A. D. 1502. In one article of that contract it is stipulated, that the princess should be infeoffed in lands of the yearly value of 2000 l. English, or 6000 Scots. By another article, king James is bound to pay to his queen 1000 l. Scots, or 500 marks English, yearly, to be disposed of as she pleased⁶⁵. As the nominal English pound at that time was equal to thirty-one of our present shillings, the Scots pound, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, was equal to ten shillings and four-pence sterling. But towards the end of this period A. D. 1544, the nominal pound of Scotland had sunk to one-fourth of the nominal pound of England. This appears from a contract of marriage between Matthew earl of Lennox, and the lady Margaret Douglas, daughter of the queen-dowager of Scotland by her second husband the earl of Angus, and niece to Henry VIII. By one article in that contract, king Henry engaged to settle an estate in England on the earl of

⁶⁵ Rym. tom. xii. p. 787 - 791.

Lennox and the lady Margaret, and their heirs, of the yearly value of 6800 marks Scots, which is equal (says the record) to 1700 marks English⁶⁶. James IV. and V. coined a good deal of money both of gold and silver; for a particular description of which the reader must be referred to the work quoted below⁶⁷; the introducing of it here would be tedious, and unsuitable to the design of general history. It may however be observed, that the kings of Scotland assumed the arched imperial crown upon their coins about the same time with the kings of England; that their coins were not inferior in their fabrication to those of England; and that the gold coins of James V. called bonnet, (because they have a bonnet on the king's head,) were the most elegant and beautiful coins in Europe in those times.

As money was certainly more plentiful in Britain, and the prices of provisions and the other necessities of life were higher in this than in the preceding period, we have reason to believe that the expence of living was only six, or rather five times cheaper in nominal pounds than it is at present⁶⁸. Various evidences of this might be produced; but one decisive proof will, it is hoped, be thought sufficient. By an act of parliament A. D. 1545, it was provided, that when the church of a small parish, whose benefice did not exceed six pounds a-year, was situated within a mile of another church, the small

Expence
of living.

⁶⁶ Rym. tom. xv. p. 31.

⁶⁷ Numismata Scotiæ, by Adam de Cardonnel.

⁶⁸ See Fleetwood's Chronicon Pretiosum, p. 112—120.

parish might be annexed to that other church. For this two reasons are assigned: 1st, That it would save the expence of keeping up two churches. 2d, That six pounds a-year was too scanty a living for a parish priest. And may not the same thing be said of five times six, or thirty pounds at present? By another clause in the same act it is provided, that if the parishioners of the small parish annexed shall within a year raise their benefice to eight pounds a-year, the annexation shall be dissolved; because, in the opinion of this parliament, eight pounds was a competent living for the minister of a small parish. And can more be said of five times eight, or forty pounds a-year in our times? If we wish therefore to form a judgment of the real riches of persons in the different ranks in society at two different and distant periods, we must not only take into the account the quantity of money which they possessed, but chiefly the quantity of all other things which that money could have purchased. Thus, for example, the wages of a common labourer in our present period was only three-pence a-day; but he was really as rich, and could live as well as a labourer in our times who earns fifteen pence a-day. The same reasoning will hold good with respect to persons in all the other ranks in society. Money is not only a capital article in commerce, but it is a kind of commercial barometer. When money is scarce it is dear, and all other things are cheap. When money abounds it is cheap, and all other things are dear. This bears hardest upon stipendiaries, who have a certain
fixed

fixed income in money; because, as money increases, the value of their income gradually decreases, and in time becomes quite incompetent.

As ships are no less necessary to foreign and even to coasting commerce than money, the state of shipping requires some of our attention in every period.

The ships that had been formerly employed by the merchants of Britain in foreign trade were in general small, many of them under fifty, and few of them above one hundred and fifty tons. A few ships of greater burthen are mentioned by our historians, but they are mentioned as a kind of prodigies⁶⁹. But after the discovery of the New World, when more distant voyages were undertaken, the merchants of England began to build larger and stouter ships. In this they were assisted and encouraged by Henry VII., who built several great ships, which he freighted to the merchants when they were not employed in the public service. The ship in which Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth made three successful voyages to the Brasils and the coast of Guinea, (the first in 1530,) is represented as a ship of uncommon magnitude, a stout tall ship, of two hundred and fifty tons⁷⁰.

But if the merchant ships were now in general larger and better built than those of preceding times, the ships designed for war were, it is said, augmented in size and strength in a much greater proportion. About the beginning of the sixteenth century, the great importance of superiority at sea

⁶⁹ See vol. x. p. 274.

⁷⁰ Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 700.

was well understood; and the sovereigns of the several maritime states of Europe began to vie with each other which of them should have the largest and stoutest ships of war. Henry VIII. built several great ships; particularly one named the *Regent*, of 1000 tons, which required a crew of eight hundred men⁷¹. The king of France had also a number of great ships, of which the *Cordelier* was by far the greatest, and contained accommodation for eleven hundred men. These two noble ships, the *Regent* and *Cordelier*, having grappled with one another in a sea-fight off the port of Brest A. D. 1512, they were both burnt, with every person on board⁷². To replace the *Regent*, Henry VIII. soon after built another ship of the same burthen, but far more splendid and ornamental, called the *Hary Grace Dieu*⁷³. King James IV. of Scotland, we are told, engaged also in this noble contest, and resolved to build a greater ship than any that had yet appeared. *Lindsay of Pitscottie*, who gives the most circumstantial description of this famous ship, which was called the *Great Michael*, says, that he received his information from Sir Andrew Wood of Largo, who was her quarter-master, and Robert Bartyne, who was master-skipper. As this writer seems to have been so well informed, it may not be improper to give his description of this famous ship in his own words, changing only a few of them that would be unintelligible to an English reader.

⁷¹ *Archeologia*, vol. vi. p. 201.

⁷² *Hall*, f. 22.

⁷³ *Arch.* vol. v. p. 209.

“ In this same year (1512) the king of Scotland bigged a great ship, called the Great Michael, which was the greatest ship and of the most strength that ever sailed in England or France: for this ship was of so great stature, and took so much timber, that, except Falkland, she wasted all the woods in Fife, which was oak wood, besides all timber that was gotten out of Norraway; for she was so strong and of so great length and breadth, to wit, she was twelve-score feet of length, and thirty-six feet within the sides. All the wrights of Scotland, yea and many other strangers, were at her device, by the king's commandment, who wrought very busily in her; but it was year and day ere she was complete. This great ship cumbered Scotland to get her to the sea. From that time that she was a float, and her masts and sails complete, with ropes and ancores effiering thereto, she was counted to the king to be thirty thousand pounds of expences, besides her artillery, which was very great and costly to the king, and besides all the rest of her furniture⁷⁴. She had three hundred mariners to sail her; she had six-score gunners to use her artillery, and had a thousand men of war, besides her captains, skippers, and quarter-masters. If any man believe that this description of the ship is not of verity as we have written, let him pass to the gate of Tillibarden, and there before the same

⁷⁴ 30,000 l. Scots at that time contained as much silver as 15,000 l. sterling at present, and was equal in efficacy to 50,000 l.

“ ye will see the length and breath of her planted
 “ with hawthoru by the wright that helped to
 “ make her”⁷⁵.” Such is the description of this
 ship given by Pitfcottie, and he certainly believed
 it to be true. It is probable, however, that he
 was misinformed in some things, particularly that
 she had a thousand fighting men on board, which
 is hardly credible.

King James sent this great ship with two other
 gallant ships, the Margaret and the James, and a
 fleet of smaller vessels, having an army on board,
 to the assistance of the king of France, against a
 threatened invasion of that kingdom by the Eng-
 lish, which soon after took place⁷⁶. The Great
 Michael never returned to Scotland, but was sold
 by the duke of Albany to the king of France,
 A. D. 1514, for 40,000 franks⁷⁷; a very great
 sum in those times. James IV., who had a taste
 for maritime affairs, appears to have formed the
 design of raising a royal navy; but, by his untimely
 death, that design was blasted. Henry VIII., who
 may be justly styled the founder of the English
 navy, had formed the same design about the same
 time; but as he survived king James upwards of
 thirty years, and was at the head of a much greater,
 more powerful, and opulent nation, he made much
 greater progress in the execution of that design;
 and at his death he left a fleet greatly superior to
 that of any of his predecessors, and not inferior to
 that of any other prince in Europe. Some of

⁷⁵ Pitfcottie, p. 107.

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 110.

⁷⁷ Epist. R. R. Scot. tom. i. p. 214.

Henry's

Henry's predecessors had a few ships, which they employed sometimes in trade, and sometimes in war; but they did not deserve the name of a navy. At the death of Henry VIII., the navy of England was on a very different footing; it consisted of fifty-three ships belonging to the crown, and only equipped for war. Some of these ships were of great magnitude: the *Henry Grace de Dieu* was of 1000 tons; she carried 19 brass and 103 iron guns; and her complement of men consisted of 349 soldiers, 301 mariners, and fifty gunners. There was another ship of 700 tons, two of 600, and two of 500, and the tonnage of the whole fleet was 6255 tons⁷⁸. More evidence, if it was necessary, might be produced to prove, that the ships employed in England, and even in Scotland, both in trade and war, in this period, were in general larger, stronger, and better built than in any former time; which is a strong presumptive proof that the commerce, power, and opulence of the country had increased.

The trade of England was still carried on, for the most part, by two great companies; the company of the German merchants of steelyard, and the company of the merchant adventurers of England. The first of these companies was the richest, the most ancient, and for several ages the most favoured by the kings of England, to whom they made valuable presents. This company was composed almost wholly of foreigners, and was far from being popular. They became at length so

⁷⁸ *Archeologia*, vol. vi. p. 220.

unpopular,

unpopular, that their persons were often insulted and their goods plundered by the populace of London. The company of merchant adventurers consisted wholly of Englishmen, and every English merchant was admitted a member of it on paying a small fine. It appears so to have been the intention of government to divide the trade of England between these two companies; and certain branches of it were allotted to each of them in their charters, with strict prohibitions not to exceed their bounds. But the love of gain is not to be restrained by prohibitions lurking in charters. These two companies encroached on each other's privileges, and brought bitter complaints against one another before the king and council. The complaints of the merchant adventurers were well-founded; the injuries they had received from the other company were very great, and ought to have been redressed: but their antagonists had powerful protectors at court, which enabled them to repel all attacks during the whole reign of Henry VIII. In the succeeding reign, the complaints of the merchant adventurers prevailed, and the privileges enjoyed by the merchants of the steelyard were, after mature deliberation, revoked, and their corporation abolished, by the privy council. It appeared that they had exported in one year 44,000 pieces of cloth; and as they enjoyed an exemption from *alien* duties, they had defrauded the revenue, and injured the private adventurers, by colouring, or passing under their own names, the merchandize of other foreigners to a large amount⁷⁸.

⁷⁸ Anderson, vol. i. p. 383.

THE
HISTORY
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER VII.

History of the Manners, Virtues, Vices, remarkable Customs, Languages, Dress, and Diversions of the People of Great Britain, from the Accession of Henry VII. A. D. 1485, to the Accession of Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

AMONG nations whose government is monarchical, the supreme magistrate is exalted to a power, and invoked by titles, scarcely compatible with human nature; while the people, from whom his authority originates, and on whose breath his existence depends, are in history regarded only as subservient to him. Their annals are adjusted
and

and marked by his reign, filled with his public transactions or secret policy ; and as every atchievement is ascribed to his auspices, it is his life rather than their history that is recorded for the benefit of succeeding generations. From the public transactions, or the dark and dishonest intrigues of princes, the transition to the private character of the people is grateful ; yet there our attention is still irresistibly attracted to the sovereign, whose example either extends to society, or whose court is an index to the manners, customs, and taste of the age.

Spirit of
the Eng-
lish.

It is observable that the spirit of a nation is subject to frequent, and sudden vicissitudes ; that it passes from the extremes of religious frenzy, or civil discord, to a state of inactive and cold indifference. The English, after a long interruption, obtained, by the union of the rival roses, the blessings of a permanent government and domestic concord, and were unwilling to forfeit these by the rash renewal of their former troubles. The power of the nobles was broken, and their numbers diminished ; the policy of the crown had suppressed their retainers ; war, or the progress of society, had either destroyed or enfranchised their bondsmen ; nor were armies ready to start, as formerly, at the sound of their trumpets. *Their* depression, and the disusage of slavery, produced a salutary alteration on the ranks of society, removing the materials as well as the causes of future commotions ; but on the removal of these, an important change is perceptible in the spirit both of the government and

and people. The regal power, counteracted hitherto by that of the nobles, subsisted, after the decline of their influence, without opposition and without restraint. Government was sanguinary, the people were passive, submissive to rapacious vindictive tyrants, at whose pleasure the laws were either superseded or perverted. The scaffold streamed with the blood of the nobles, and the flames of persecution consumed the religious; but the people suffered with patience, resigned the constitution to their monarch, and received as their religion, whatever his caprice or his passions might dictate. Other nations, amidst the remains of chivalry, (the force of which was not yet exhausted,) discovered in their government much of their present moderation and lenity; and the contemporary reigns of Charles and of Francis exhibit despotic authority mitigated by refinement, mild in its exercise, and unstained by sanguinary exertions of power. In England, a tyrannical government argues a more barbarous state of society. The people were inured to bloodshed by the civil wars; and while their own security remained unaffected, beheld the fate of their superiors with supine indifference, or perhaps with a secret malignant pleasure. Government, it is true, was always vigilant to suppress their murmurs; and Henry VIII. condescended repeatedly to court their affections; religious contests served to balance their hopes and their fears; and the religious parties into which they were divided, applauded alternately every tyrannical action of Henry's reign. Perhaps they

esteemed his character; but theirs is marked by a tame fervility, unexampled hitherto in the annals of England.

Their manners, though comparatively rude, attained in the present period to considerable refinement; of which, however, it is difficult to ascertain the precise degree, impossible to distinguish the minute gradations. Foreigners who visited the country, have transmitted a favourable report of the inhabitants; and Polydore Virgil, with a visible partiality, pronounces that theirs resembled the Italian manners¹; but Erasmus informs us, that their manners participated of those nations from whom they originated, exhibiting a mixture neither so refined as the French, nor so rude as the German². The resort of foreigners was considerable, and apparently acceptable to all ranks, the plebeians excepted³, who, like their own mastiffs, are still noted for their antipathy to strangers. The nobility and gentlemen of opulence began to travel for improvement through Europe, to study the languages, and acquire the refinement of different courts⁴; and this intercourse with foreigners at home and abroad contributed, without supplanting, to correct the rudeness of the national manners.

¹ Hist. p. 15.

² Erasmi Colloq. Diverforia ad finem. Erasmus promised a description of English inns, which it is to be regretted he did not execute.

³ Pol. Virgil, p. 15. Stowe, p. 305. Hall, Hen. VIII. p. 62.

⁴ Surry, Wyat, and others, had travelled: and it is said that the first of the Bedford family distinguished at court was a Mr. Russel, who had acquired by travelling, the languages of the continent, and was employed by Sir John Trenchard his kinsman to attend on Philip of Austria as an interpreter during his journey to court.

If

If the character, however, of a court be assumed from the sovereign, these manners, in the court of Henry VII., must have been ruled indeed. On arriving at a village where Catherine of Arragon, after landing in England, was lodged for the night, Henry was told that the princess had already retired to rest; but he announced his intention of visiting her bed-side, obliged her to rise and dress to receive him, and affianced her that evening to his son prince Arthur⁵. Henry VIII. affected more gallantry, and his court was distinguished by superior politeness; but that romantic gallantry, which was congenial to Francis and to James IV., was adopted through emulation, and sat with visible constraint upon Charles, who disregarded, and upon Henry, who forgot his youthful professions of respect for the fair. His passions were impetuous, his gallantry was indelicate, yet his character brave, frank, and generous like his grandfather Edward, though, like his father Henry, rapacious and jealous, attracted the nobility, and encouraged a magnificence unknown till then in the English court. The nobility, who had formerly shunned the court, unless at seasons when their appearance was necessary⁶, began to frequent it in Henry's reign; they exchanged their solitary dignity for social intercourse, exhausted their revenues in ostentatious magnificence, and while their existence literally depended on the smiles or frowns of a capricious

⁵ Leland's Collectanea, vol. v. p. 354.

⁶ During parliament, or once a year, to perform their homage.

master,

master, acquired the frivolous, the pleasing refinement of courtly manners.

But the polish of courts is imparted only to a portion of society, and the refinement of the people may be estimated perhaps by their means of improvement, their early education, and domestic manners. Their education in the present period was extremely defective. Schools were rare; and before the reformation, young men were educated in monasteries, women in nunneries; where the latter were instructed in writing, drawing, confectionary, needle-work, and, what were regarded then as female accomplishments, in physic and surgery⁷. The acquisitions of the former were confined to writing, and a tincture probably of barbarous Latin⁸; but ignorance was still so common, that Fitzherbert recommends to gentlemen unable to commit notes to writing, the practice of notching a stick to assist their memory⁹. When removed from these seminaries to the houses of their parents, both sexes were treated in a manner that precluded improvement. Perhaps the best criterion of civilized society is the free intercourse, and reciprocal confidence between parents and their offspring; a situation in which an indulgent equality supersedes authority, and conciliates mutual esteem and affection. But domestic manners were

⁷ Vid. a tract written in the last century, and published from a MS. of Mr. Astle's in the *Antiq. Repertory*, vol. iii. p. 43.

⁸ A specimen, not indeed very intelligible, of the Latin acquired at Eton, may be found in Fenn's *Orig. Letters*, vol. i. p. 300.

⁹ *Husbandry*, p. 86.

severe

severe and formal; a haughty reserve was affected by the old, and an abject deference exacted from the young. Sons, when arrived at manhood, are represented as standing, uncovered and silent, in their father's presence; and daughters, though women, were placed like statues at the cupboard; nor permitted to sit, or repose themselves otherwise than by kneeling on a cushion, till their mother departed. Such austere manners were prevalent even in France¹⁰, and peculiar rather to the age than the nation; but the English, I am afraid, discover a latent, unfeeling ferocity in the relentless rigour of their domestic tribunals. Omissions were punished by stripes and blows; and chastisement was carried to such excess, that the daughters trembled at the sight of their mother, and the sons avoided and hated their father¹¹. These circumstances indicate that the manners of the people were ceremonious and stately, their refinement artificial, adopted only in their external intercourse, not habitual, nor retained to purify domestic life.

Chivalry, though its influence diminished daily, still subsisted as a splendid spectacle, supported by the mutual emulation of princes, their enthusiastic gallantry, or their predilection for arms and exploits of valour. Francis and James IV. imbibed the

Chivalry.

¹⁰ "At Roſny are ſtill ſhewn two ſtone benches, where the illuſtrious Sully enjoyed domeſtic comfort, himſelf ſeated, and the reſt of his family ſtanding uncovered near a bench facing him." Vid. Mirabeau's *Conſiderations on the Order of Cincinnatus*; note AA.

¹¹ Vid. Tract. ut ſupra—Fenn's Letters, paſſim.

genuine spirit of chivalry; and in an age when craft began to predominate in politics, their conduct was often preposterously adjusted by the precipitate dictates of romantic honour. The introduction of refinement and taste in Scotland is ascribed to the espousals of James and Margaret; but although the people were fierce and untractable, the court was polished, and the king, whose deportment during the celebration of his nuptials was remarked and recorded, displayed the courtesy of an accomplished knight, and a delicacy far superior to the English monarchs¹². Henry VIII. delighted in chivalry; its spirit neither perverted his judgment, nor improved his heart; but his tournaments gratified his taste for magnificence and his passion for arms. On these amusements, in which he engaged as a constant combatant, his father's treasures were profusely expended. His weapons sometimes were unusual, at least at tourneys, the battle-axe, and two-handed sword¹³; but these, I suppose, were *rebated* or blunted, as the spears were with which the combatants were furnished. Yet on one occasion his life was endangered by his favourite Brandon, who shivered a spear on his helmet, without perceiving that his vizor was open, and his face exposed to a mortal blow¹⁴. At his interview with Francis in *the field of the cloth of gold*, his strength and dexterity were both conspicuous in a tournament perhaps the most splendid of the

¹² Vid. An account of Margaret's journey to Scotland, and reception there, in Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 265.

¹³ Herbert's Hist. p. 13.

¹⁴ Hall, 122.

age. The two kings, who, with fourteen companions, had undertaken to encounter all who challenged, entered the lists with their assistants, sumptuously arrayed in the richest tissues; and in the presence of their queens awaited the appearance of those knights whom the fame of their tournament was supposed to have attracted. Their opponents were ready, twelve gentlemen richly habited. Francis began; and after performing successive courses, and breaking several spears with applause, was succeeded by Henry, who shivered his spear at the first encounter; at the second, demolished his antagonist's helmet. Their justings were continued for five days with equal splendour and similar success; and the minute descriptions of the attire of the knights and the trappings of the horses, of their quaint devices and feats in arms, assure us that these spectacles were highly estimated¹⁵. The mock encounters of princes appear at present unimportant and trivial, as those of the mimic monarchs of the stage; yet if a servile or brutal exhibition delighted, by its massacre, the refined and rational nations of antiquity, how superior, as a spectacle, is the image of war, where kings and heroes are the only combatants?

These, inspected at a distance, were magnificent times, yet diversified withal, when examined closely, with simplicity of manners, and plainness or penury in the chief comforts of modern life. Margaret, on her marriage with James IV., made her public entry into Edinburgh, riding on a pillion

Simplicity
of the
times.

¹⁵ Hall, 77.

behind the king¹⁶. The apartments of Hampton-court had been furnished, on a particular occasion, each with a large candlestick, a basin, goblet, and ewer, of silver; yet the furniture of Henry's chamber, independent of the bed and cupboard, consisted only of a joint-stool, a pair of andirons, and a small mirror¹⁷. The halls and chambers of the wealthy were surrounded with hangings, sometimes of arras, and replenished with a cupboard, long tables, or rather loose boards placed upon trestles, forms, a chair, and a few joint-stools¹⁸. Their beds were apparently comfortable, often elegant; but those of inferior condition slept on a mat, or a straw pallet, under a rug, with a log for a pillow. Glass windows were confined to churches and mansions, and carpets were only employed to garnish the cupboard¹⁹. The floors, composed of clay, and covered either with sand or rushes, were foul and loathsome, collecting and retaining for twenty years the offals of the table, and the putrid excretions of dogs and men; and Erasmus, from whom this description is taken, attributes justly to the uncleanness of the English the frequent and destructive visitations of the plague²⁰.

Virtues.

The morals are less flexible than the manners of a people; and those virtues that in former ages distinguished the British, subsisted in the present with little alteration. The English were generous

¹⁶ Leland's Coll. vol. iv. p. 284.

¹⁷ Supra, ch. v. sect. 1. Strutt, vol. iii. p. 69. ¹⁸ Id. 65.

¹⁹ Hollinghed, p. 182. Tract ut supra. Vid. Strutt.

²⁰ Epist. 432.

and

and brave as formerly, fond of war and intrepid in danger. Their hospitality continued, not indeed in its former profusion, but corrected rather than abated by the changes produced on the modes of life. Their active virtues have already been enumerated in our former volumes, in a manner that renders repetition unnecessary. Their predominant vices afford a more copious and ungrateful subject; for the reformation detected the profligate lives of the monks and clergy, and the eloquence of the pulpit, acquiring from the reformers a new direction and additional vigour, touched with freedom or asperity the vices of the people.

Ignorance, a venial imperfection in the laity, becomes criminal in those who profess to teach or to discover the way to salvation; but perhaps the ignorance formerly conspicuous both in the monastics and the secular clergy, diminished after the dawn of reformation and letters. Their pravity did not diminish however, but resisted, at least in England, the censures of their enemies, and the sense of their own impendent danger. The visitations that preceded the suppression of the monasteries, discovered, if credit be due to the inspectors, crimes the most degrading to human nature. Hypocritical sanctity and holy frauds are congenial to every monastic institution; and the counterfeit relics imposed on the vulgar, or the artifices practised to support their credit, are to be regarded as the established trade and profession of religious orders. Intemperance is also to be expected wherever ascetics have obtained a relaxation from rigid

Vices of
the clergy.

discipline; nor is their guilt inexpressible, if, after indulging in evening collations, they assembled irregularly, and drunk to matins. But the reports are replete with other crimes of a deeper complexion; the lewdness of the monks, the incontinence of the nuns, the abortions forcibly procured by the latter, and the monstrous lusts which the former indulged²¹. The particulars would stain and dishonour our page; yet an historian, anxious for the dignity of human nature, might wish to believe, that the reports of the visitors were inflamed by zeal, and perverted by an interested and malignant policy. It is difficult to conceive that they would venture, unsupported by evidence, to accuse a community of crimes repugnant to human nature; and their veracity seems to be vindicated by their extreme solicitude to preserve some convents whose conduct was exemplary. But these crimes were apparently notorious; nor is their existence doubtful, or the licentious lives of the regulars disputable, when their debaucheries had already attracted the papal indignation, and their crimes incurred the censures and menaces of Morton the primate. If, at the commencement of this period, the monks of St. Alban's had begun, in different convents, to displace the nuns and substitute prostitutes, it is not probable that their morals were afterwards improved or their discipline re-established²².

Their hospitality.

The monks, however, had a merit in their liberal hospitality and charity. Their tables were open

²¹ Strype, vol. i. ch. 34 and 35. Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 241. Antiq. Repertory, vol. iii. 166.

²² Supra, ch. ii.

to strangers, and as the cheer was excellent, much frequented by the neighbouring gentlemen. At St Alban's, and probably at other abbies, every traveller found an hospitable reception for three days; and was then permitted, if his conduct was satisfactory, or his business important, to protract his stay²³. The fragments of their luxury furnished an extensive charity; and their indulgence to their tenants, whose rents were always moderate, endeared them to the peasants. In Scotland, where the regulars were not, I believe, so dissolute, similar hospitality was supported in monasteries; and in the abbey of Aberbrothick, about nine thousand bushels of malt seem to have been annually expended in ale²⁴. But these communities were prejudicial, even by their charities, to the increase of industry; and their dissolution assures us that the most venerable institutions, however sanctioned by time or supported by prejudice, may be suppressed when useless, without detriment or danger to society. It is probable that forty thousand were discharged from different religious houses; and it is certain that a number superior to that of the clergy at present, was absorbed with facility into the mass of the people.

From the morals of the clergy, the transition to those of the laity is natural; and Henry, after dislodging vice from the cloisters, proceeded, in the same strain of reformation, to cleanse the stews. These were a range of buildings in Southwark, on

Vices of
the people.

²³ Antiq. Rep. vol. iii. p. 61.

²⁴ Chartulary.

the banks of the Thames, privileged by patent as brothels, regulated by statute, and tolerated as a necessary drain for corruption, from the reign of Henry II. to the last year of Henry VIII. The wretched prostitutes were then expelled, the stews were *put down* by sound of trumpet²⁵, and their suppression was perhaps attended with more solemnity than that of the convents. Their suppression failed however to extirpate lewdness; and Latimer, whose sermons are replete with a barbarous eloquence, inveighs bitterly at its subsequent prevalence: "You have put down the stews," says this rude declaimer, "but what is the matter amended? What availeth that? Ye have but changed the place, and not taken the whoredom away. I advertise you, in God's name, to look to it. I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was in the Bank. There is more open whoredom, more *stewed* whoredom²⁶." The vices obnoxious to clerical censures are not always pernicious to society, nor is their magnitude certain, when transmitted through the medium of intemperate zeal. But Latimer's proposal, in a court sermon, for restraining adultery by a capital punishment, attests its prevalence²⁷; nor is any inferior infliction too severe for a crime that embitters life, and corrodes the dearest connexions of nature; a crime, in its ultimate consequences, subversive either of social

²⁵ Stowe's Survey, by Strype, vol. ii. p. 7. Howel, Londonopolis, p. 337.

²⁶ Latimer's Sermons, p. 43.

²⁷ Id. 103.

intercourse,

intercourse, or productive of an utter relaxation of morals.

The vices and the follies peculiar to the age are necessarily the chief topics of pulpit eloquence; and, if credit were due to this severe reformer, the statesmen and judges were corrupted by bribery, the people profligate, destitute of charity, immersed in vice, and devoted to perdition²⁸. Wherever government is arbitrary, the administration of justice is perverted and partial; and judges subservient to regal influence are certainly not inaccessible to secret corruption. The unmeaning oaths to which the English have in every age been addicted are peculiarly offensive to pious ears, and in some minds generate a persuasion, that a people habituated to profane swearing are disaffected to the Deity whose name they dishonour, impervious to religion, and insensible of virtue. It may be observed, however, with more propriety, that habitual swearing diminishes our sense of the obligation attached to judicial oaths. Perjury was still the predominant vice that tainted the morals of every rank, and infected even the breast of the sovereign. Juries were perjured; their verdicts were generally procured by bribery; their corruption was notorious, and encouraged openly by Henry VII. in the iniquitous prosecution of his own subjects²⁹. Princes claim and obtain an exemption from vulgar honesty; and that which is

²⁸ Latimer's Sermons, p. 18. 46. 55. 63. 66. 84.

²⁹ Stowe, 485. 11 Hen. VII. c. 21. 23 Hen. VIII. c. 3. Barrington's Observ. on the Stat. p. 410.

fraud and perfidy in private life, is dignified, in their transactions, by the appellation of policy; yet the reader must observe, with some surprise, the repeated examples contained in this history, of princes corroborating, by mutual oaths and the rites of religion, those treaties which they had previously determined to frustrate or violate. Their treaties are at present neither more permanent nor more secure; but the intervention of oaths is wisely omitted, as a superfluous adjection, not obligatory on the lax morals peculiar to princes.

Robbery. To these crimes may be added theft and robbery, which were still so prevalent that twenty-two thousand criminals are said to have been executed by the rigid justice of Henry VIII. Robbery was seldom attended with murder, and was probably still regarded as an occupation, of which the guilt might be extenuated by courage and success³⁰. Murders and assassinations are frequent however in Scottish history, for the people were cruel, fierce, and ungovernable; and, to judge from the desperate crimes of the nobility, their manners were neither more softened, nor their passions better controlled and regulated. But whatever be the crimes of a people, there is in human nature a reforming principle that ultimately corrects and amends its degeneracy; and history furnishes repeated examples of nations passing from even a vicious effeminacy, to an enthusiasm that regenerates every virtue.

Religion. Such a change was effected, in a partial degree, by

³⁰ Hollingshed, p. 186. 199. 246.

the reformation; which, recalling its profelytes from the errors and abuses of the Romish superstition, taught them to renounce the dissipation and vices of the age, to assume the badge of superior sanctity and more rigid virtue, to suffer in adversity with patience, and to encounter persecution and death with fortitude. Sectaries, from the constant circumspection requisite in their conduct, contract an habitual and gloomy severity; and foreigners, ever more observant than natives, discovered, in the present period, symptoms of that puritanical spirit which, at the distance of a century, was destined to give liberty to England and law to kings³¹.

The reformation might reflect discredit on recent miracles; but the period is still distinguished by excessive credulity. The astrologers in 1523, from the approach of eclipses and planetary conjunctions, predicted incessant rains and destructive inundations: the people were alarmed; many retired to the high grounds for safety; the abbot of Bartholomew, in Smithfield built a house, which he stored with provisions, on Harrow of the Hill; and those who reposed in the promise to Noah, were still apprehensive of a partial inundation, and collected meal sufficient for subsistence till the waters subsided. But the year elapsed with little rain, and the astrologers redeemed their credit, by confessing a mistake in their calculations of an hundred years³². The reformers probably were less credulous; but, believing that the pope was antichrist,

³¹ Erasmi Epist. 127. Scaliger. 21.

³² Hall. Hen. VIII. 123.

they

they expected, as his power was partly broken, the speedy arrival of Christ in judgment ; and, in every unusual appearance of the heavens, perceived, with a mixture of hope and trepidation, those signs supposed to announce the cessation of time, and destruction of the world ³³. An Egyptian experiment repeated by James IV. exhibits the superstitious credulity of the Scots. Whether to discover the primitive language of the human race, or to ascertain the first formation of speech, he inclosed two children with a dumb attendant in Inchkeith, an uninhabited island of the Forth ; and it was believed that the children, on arriving at maturity, communicated their ideas in pure Hebrew, the language of Paradise ³⁴.

I would mention as an instance of credulity, the belief of a monstrous production of the human species, but the concurrence of grave historians attests and renders the fact indisputable. This monster was born in Scotland, and its appearance suggested the idea of twins fortuitously conjoined in the womb, united at the navel, into a common trunk, and terminating below in the limbs of a male, but disparted above into two bodies, distinct and proportioned in all their parts, each endued with separate members, and animated each by a separate intelligence. Their sensations were common when excited in the loins or inferior extremities ; peculiar to one, and unfelt by the other, when produced on the par-

³³ Latimer, 247.³⁴ Pitfcottie, 104.

ticular body of either. Their perceptions were different, their mental affections unconnected, their wills independent, at times discordant, and again adjusted by mutual concession. They received, by the direction of James IV., such liberal education as the times afforded; attained in music to considerable proficiency, and acquired a competent knowledge of various languages. Their death was miserable: at the age of twenty-eight the one expired; and his body corrupting, tainted and putrified his living brother³⁵.

The feudal system was productive, among other Customs, preposterous customs, of early marriages, formed without disparagement of rank or birth, but without regard to disparity of age or repugnance of sentiment. Vassals during their wardship, were at the absolute disposal of their lord, who literally sold them, while minors, in marriage; and prudent fathers, to frustrate his rapacity, were careful to accelerate, before their death, the nuptials of their offspring. The custom extended beyond the necessity from which it originated, and the death of prince Arthur is to be ascribed to the premature consummation, at the age of fifteen, of his marriage with Katherine. When, on her divorce from Henry, a proof of that delicate circumstance was requisite, the opinion of two witnesses, the duke

³⁵ Buchanan, 242. Pitfcottie, 103. Hawthornden, 69.

Mortua, quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
 Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora
 Tormenti genus! et sanie taboque fluentes
 Complexu in misero, longa sic morte necabat. VIRGIL.
of

of Norfolk and the earl of Shrewsbury, was founded on their own marriage at the age of prince Arthur ; and it is remarkable that Herbert, the historian of these transactions, was himself married at the same age to a woman of twenty³⁶. Chivalry was the season of romantic love ; yet as mankind are actuated chiefly by interest, marriage, with few exceptions, has in every age been a sordid bargain.

The mode which is still peculiar to Britain, of saluting ladies, appears to have excited the surprise of foreigners ; and Erasmus, who approved of it as a laudable custom, avers with pleasantry, that whether you visit, depart, or return, whether you assemble by concert, or encounter by accident, you cannot stir in England without an interchange of luscious kisses³⁷. An interchange not so disinterested was supported at court, where, on the new year, the king accepted, from his nobles and clergy, of gifts from five to fifty pounds, and repaid them either with smiles or occasional presents of gilt plate³⁸. On solemn festivals, the king and his nobles bestowed each his *largesse* on the guards or attendants, and an herald proclaimed the different donations with much solemnity ; but James IV. delicately suppressed, at his marriage, the mention of his own, when his queen's was published³⁹. Marriages, christenings and established festivals,

³⁶ Herbert's Hist. p. 270. Herbert's Life, p. 26.

³⁷ Epist. 65. In the description of Margaret's journey to Scotland, which was written by an herald, every kiss that she received is recorded with care. Let. Col. vol. iv.

³⁸ Strype, vol. i. p. 138. Walpole's Anec. vol. i.

³⁹ Ibid.

furnished

furnished frequent occasions for convivial intercourse; but the gentlemen are described as assembling at other times in fields or forests, with hawks and hounds, and bugles suspended in filken baldricks⁴⁰. There, under the pretext of hunting, they had often concerted rebellions, or convoked their military retainers to arms; and an early statute of Henry VII.'s still prohibits their hunting in vizors, or during the darkness and concealment of night⁴¹.

The domestic manners of the Scots have seldom attracted historical notice; and their advances in refinement are to be collected or conjectured from their peculiar customs, their progress in the arts, and their improvements in the various comforts of life. Their morals, contrasted with those of their ancestors, are arraigned as degenerate by their historian Boethius, who accuses their intemperance, censures their luxury, and laments their departure from the frugal moderation and rugged virtues of the ancient Scots⁴². His description, however, of these primitive, obdurate virtues is far from attractive; and what *he* denominates vicious intemperance and excessive luxury, may be fairly interpreted an increasing refinement, and superior elegance in social life. The nobles, who resorted seldom to cities, preserved in their castles their former rude but hospitable magnificence, which increased their retainers and strengthened their power, secured their safety, or enabled them to

Scots.

⁴⁰ Tract, ut supra, in the Antiq. Repert.
ch. 7.

⁴² Boethius Descrip. Scot. p. 12.

⁴¹ 1 Hen. VII.

prosecute

prosecute their deadly feuds. The people were divided into factions by those lords to whom they attached themselves, whose interest they espoused, and whose quarrels they adopted⁴¹; and the clans peculiar at present to the Highlands, were probably once universal in Scotland. In the Highlands, and on the borders, clans were perpetuated by a constant warfare, that inured the people to the fierceness and rapine of a predatory life. As thieves and plunderers their character was proverbial; yet the depredations, committed generally on hostile tribes, assume an appearance of military virtue; and their mutual fidelity, their observance of promises, and in the Highlands, their inviolable attachment to their chieftains, are circumstances sufficient almost to redeem their character⁴². The Chattan clan, during the minority of James V., had made a destructive incursion into Murray, but after their return were assailed and oppressed by superior forces; and two hundred of the tribe, rather than betray their chieftain or disclose his retreat, preferred and suffered an ignominious death⁴³.

Language. The mutability of language, to the learned, whose fame depends on its duration, an incessant topic of serious regret, seems to be counteracted by the art of printing, which, in proportion as it disseminates a taste for letters, re-acts as a model on colloquial speech, and operates, if not entirely to repress innovation, at least to preserve the stability, and perpetuate the radical structures of language. Such sta-

⁴¹ Major's Hist. p. 32.

⁴² Lefsy's Hist. pp. 56. 61.

⁴³ Id. 475.

bility the English language has acquired from printing, and at the distance of three centuries, still exhibits the same phraseology and syntactical form, varied only by those alterations essential to the progressive refinement of speech. The language of the period, if necessary to discriminate its peculiar style, was unpolished and oral; its character is rude simplicity, neither aspiring to elegance, nor solicitous of ease, but written as it was spoken, without regard to selection or arrangement. Reduced to modern orthography, it is only distinguishable from the common colloquial discourse of the present period, by a certain rust of antiquity, by phrases that are abrogated, or words that are either effaced or altered. These, however, are not numerous; and we may conclude from the compositions of the learned, that the language of the people differed little from the present, unless in pronunciation, which, to judge from orthography, was harsh, and such as would now be denominated provincial or vulgar. Whatever has been since superadded, either by a skilful arrangement, or the incorporation of foreign or classical words and idioms, is more the province of critical disquisition than historical research; yet it merits observation, that the first attempts at elegance are ascribable, in poetry to Surry, in prose perhaps to sir Thomas More, whose English style, as it was modelled on his Latin, is constructed with art, and replete with inversions, approaching to that which, in contradistinction to the vulgar, may be justly denominated a learned diction.

This history has already furnished sufficient specimens both of the Scottish and English languages, which, descended from the same Gothic original, and nearly similar in former periods, divaricated considerably during the present. This is to be attributed to the alteration and improvement of the English, for the Scottish was more stationary; nor is there in the language, a material difference between the compositions of James the First, and those of Bellenden⁴⁶, Dunbar, and Douglas; each of whom, by the liberal adaptation of Latin words, enriched and polished his vernacular idiom. But for the union of the crowns, which in literature rendered the English the prevalent language, the Scottish might have risen to the merit of a rival dialect, different rather in pronunciation than structure; not so solemn but more energetic, nor less susceptible of literary culture.

Dress.

Dress, submitted to the guidance of taste or vanity, is first displayed in magnificence; then, when the improvement of manufactures has rendered magnificence cheap and common, in the incessant change and variety of fashion. The dress of the period was costly, and in its fashions subject to frequent fluctuation; so costly, that the wardrobes of the nobility in fifty years had increased to twenty times their former value⁴⁷; so changeable, that the capricious inconstancy of the national dress was quaintly represented by the figure of an English-

⁴⁶ Bellenden, archdeacon of Murray, translated Livy and Hector Boethius into Scotch; the latter was published, the former is in MSS. in the Advocates Library in Edinburgh.

⁴⁷ Fitzherbert's Husbandry, p. 96.

man naked, in a musing posture, with sheers in his hand, and cloth on his arm, perplexed amidst a multiplicity of fashions, and uncertain how to devise his garments⁴⁸. These fashions it is impossible now to discover, but the general dress of the period may be described from prints and pictures with sufficient precision.

The dress of the nobility, during the reigns of Richard and Henry the Seventh, was grotesque and fantastical, such as renders it difficult at first to distinguish the sex. Over the breeches was worn a petticoat; the doublet was laced, like the stays of a pregnant woman, across a stomacher, and a gown or mantle with wide sleeves descended over the doublet and petticoat down to the ancles. Commoners were satisfied, instead of a gown, with a frock or tunick shaped like a shirt, gathered at the middle, and fastened round the loins by a girdle, from which a short dagger was generally suspended. But the petticoat was rejected after the accession of Henry the Eighth, when the *trauses* or tight breeches, that displayed the minute symmetry of the limbs, was revived, and the length of the doublet and mantle diminished. The fashions which the great have discarded, are often retained by the lower orders, and the form of the tunick, a Saxon garment, may be still discovered in the waggoner's frock; of the *trause*, and perhaps of the petticoat, in the different trowsers that are worn by seamen. These habits were again diversified by minute decorations and changes of fashion: from an opinion

Its fashi-
ons.

⁴⁸ Camden's Remains, p. 17.

that corpulence contributes to dignity, the doublet was puckered, stuffed, and extended around the body; the sleeves were swelled into large ruffs; and the breeches bolstered about the hips; but how shall I describe an artificial protuberance, gross and indecent, in the age of Henry the Eighth, if we judge from his, and the portraits of others, a familiar appurtenance to the dress of the sovereign, the knight, and mechanic, at a future period retained in comedy as a favourite theme of licentious merriment?" The doublet and breeches were sometimes slashed, and with the addition of a short cloak, to which a stiffened cap was peculiar, resembled the national dress of the Spaniards. The doublet is now transformed into a waistcoat, and the cloak or mantle, to which the sleeves of the doublet were transferred, has been converted gradually into a modern coat; but the dress of the age was justly censured as inconvenient and clumsy. "Men's servants," to whom the fashions had descended with the cloaths of their masters, "have
 "suche pleytes," says Fitzherbert, "upon theyr
 "brestes, and ruffes uppon theyr sleeves, above
 "theyr elbowes, that yf theyr mayster, or theym
 "selfe, hadde never so greatte neede, they coulede
 "not shoote one shote to hurte theyr ennemyes,
 "tyll they had caste of theyr cotes, or cut of theyr
 "sleeves"⁴⁰. The dress of the peasantry was

⁴⁰ The codpiece, on which Shakespeare is often so witty, made its first appearance, I believe, at the French court. It appears in a portrait of Henry by Holbein, and became so prevalent, that we discover it even in the picture of a common beadle. Vide Strutt's *Antiq.* vol. iii.

⁵⁰ Fitzherbert's *Husbandry*, p. 96.

similar,

similar, but more convenient, consisting generally of trunk hose, and a doublet of coarse and durable fustian⁵¹.

The materials employed in dress were rich and expensive; cloth of gold, furs, silks, and velvets, profusely embroidered. The habits of Henry VIII. and his queen, on their procession to the Tower previous to their coronation, are described by Hall, an historian delighting in shows and spectacles. "His grace wared in his upperst apparrell " a robe of crimfyn velvet, furred with armyns; " his jacket or cote of raised gold; the placard " embrodered with diamonds, rubies, emeraudes, " greate pearles, and other riche stones; a greate " bauderike aboute his necke, of large balasses. " The quene was appareled in white satyn embrodered, her haire hangyng downe to her backe, " of a very great length, bewtefull and goodly to " behold, and on her hedde a coronall, set with " many riche orient stones⁵²." The attire of females was becoming and decent, similar in its fashion to their present dress, but less subject to change and caprice⁵³. The large and fantastic head-dresses of the former age were superseded by coifs and velvet bonnets, beneath which the matron gathered her locks into tufts or *tuffocks*; but the virgin's head was uncovered, and her hair braided and fastened with ribbons⁵⁴. Among gentle-

Magnificence.

Female dress.

⁵¹ For a more particular account of the dress of this period vid. Strutt's Antiq. vol. iii. p. 75. plates 1. 12, 13, 14.

⁵² Hall, p. 3.

⁵³ Polydore Virgil, p. 15.

⁵⁴ Latimer, p. 107. Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. p. 179.

men, long hair was fashionable through Europe till the emperor Charles during a voyage devoted his locks for his health or safety⁵⁵; and in England, Henry, a tyrant even in taste, gave efficacy to the fashion by a peremptory order for his attendants and courtiers to *poll their heads*⁵⁶. The same spirit induced him, probably, by sumptuary laws to regulate the inordinate dress of his subjects. Cloth of gold or tissue was reserved for dukes and marquises; if of a purple colour, for the royal family. Silks and velvets were restricted to commoners of wealth or distinction; but embroidery was interdicted from all beneath the degree of an earl. Cuffs for the sleeves, and bands and ruffs for the neck, were the invention of this period; but felt-hats were of earlier origin, and were still coarser and cheaper than caps or bonnets⁵⁷. Pockets, a convenience unknown to the ancients, are perhaps the latest real improvement on dress; but instead of pockets, a loose pouch seems to have been sometimes suspended from the girdle⁵⁸.

Scotland.

The Scottish was apparently the same with the English dress, the bonnet excepted, peculiar both in its colour and form. The masks and trains, and superfluous finery of female apparel, had been formerly prohibited; but fashion is superior to human laws, and we learn from the satirical invectives

⁵⁵ Whether in consequence of a vow or a head-ach is disputed by historians, Herbert, p. 316.

⁵⁶ Stowe, p. 571.

⁵⁷ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 83. 4 Hen. VII. c. 8. by which the price of the best hats is limited to 20 d. of the best caps to 2 s. 8 d.

⁵⁸ Strutt, plates 1. 14. vol. iii.

of poets, that the ladies still persisted in retaining their finery and muzzling their faces ⁵⁹.

The diet of the peasantry is subject, in different periods, to few alterations; because it consists of the common produce of the soil, prepared in the simplest manner for food. Their bread-corn in England was rye or barley, sometimes oats mixed with pulse; a food preferred for its nutrition to wheat, which, till rendered by a better cultivation cheap and abundant, was usually confined to the tables of the wealthy ⁶⁰. These tables were more luxurious and expensive than formerly; distinguished by the variety of delicate viands, as well as by the quantity of substantial fare ⁶¹; and Polydore expatiates with visible complacency on the various pleasures of those tables at which he had feasted; on the juicy flavour of the mutton, and the sweetness of the beef, especially when slightly salted; on the tenderness of the young geese and the Kentish hens; the delicacy of the partridges, pheasants, and quails; and the fatness of the larks, thrushes, and blackbirds, of which incredible numbers were caught in winter, and presented almost at every table. But his taste was peculiarly gratified by the varieties and abundance of excellent fish, which, to a churchman, renders the mortification even of the appetite luxurious; he discriminates the gurnard,

⁵⁹ Black Acts, p. 43. The statute provides, "That no woman cum to kirk nor mercat with hir face muffalit." Dunbar and Lindsay inveigh at the extravagance of the ladies in dress.

⁶⁰ Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. p. 449.

⁶¹ Fitzherbert's Husbandry, 97. According to this writer, the table was four times more expensive than in former times.

whiting, mullet turbot, breme, and sturgeon; depreciates the mackerel as dry, the shad as insipid; extols the rich and delicious oysters, and approves of the recent translation of the pike from fens and lakes into gentlemen's ponds⁶². To these the carp might be added, introduced from the continent in the present period as store for ponds⁶³; and from these particulars, to a foreigner important, we may conclude that few delicacies were wanting at feasts. Vegetables, however, were sparingly provided; and as regular markets were not general, country families killed a number of beeves at Michaelmas, and subsisted till Whitsuntide on salted meat⁶⁴.

Manner of living.

Their cookery cannot now be appreciated, or distinguished otherwise than by a profusion of hot spices with which every dish was indiscriminately seasoned⁶⁵. Dinner and supper were served in the hall, where the first table was placed in a sort of recess, or elevation, at the upper end, and reserved for the landlord and his principal guests, while visitors less respectable were seated with the officers of the household, at long and narrow tables that occupied the sides and the middle of the hall. The rank of the guests was again discriminated by

⁶² Polydore Virgil, p. 13.

⁶³ Hollingshed, p. 46. Anderfon quotes the following distich:

“Turkeys, carps, hops, piccarel, and beer,

“Came into England all in one year.”

Hist. Com. vol. i. p. 354.

⁶⁴ Northumberland Household Book.

⁶⁵ Above 100 lb. of spices were employed annually in the Northumberland Family. *Northumberland Household Book.*

their

their arrangement, by their situation above or below the saltceller, which was placed invariably in the middle of the table, and the usher was carefully instructed to displace such as might seat themselves unmannerly above their betters. The chief servants attended always above the saltceller, beneath which the table was probably crowded with poor dependents, whom the guests despised, and the servants neglected. The servants were marshalled, and the dishes served, by orders issued aloud from the usher⁶⁶; and at table none presumed to taste of the dishes till they were drawn successively upwards to the principal personage, from whom they descended again to the rest of the company⁶⁷. Churchmen affected peculiar ceremony, and the abbot of St. Alban's dined with greater state than the nobility themselves. His table was elevated fifteen steps above the hall, and in serving his dinner, the monks, at every fifth step, performed a hymn. He dined alone at the middle of his table, to the ends of which guests of distinguished rank were admitted; and the monks, after their attendance on the abbot was over, sat down to tables at the sides of the hall, and were served with equal respect by the novices⁶⁸. At Wolsey's entertainment of the French ambassadors, the company were summoned by trumpet to supper, and the courses were announced by a prelude of music.

⁶⁶ Vid. Notes in the Northumberland Household Book. This mode of living was retained by some great families till the middle of the last century. Ibid.

⁶⁷ Hollingshed, 166.

⁶⁸ Antiq. Repert. vol. iii. p. 61.

The second course contained upwards of an hundred devices or subtilties; castles, churches, animals, warriors jutting on foot and on horseback; others dancing with ladies; "all as well counter-scited," says the historian, "as the painter should have painted on a cloth or wall⁶⁹." Such entertainments were not of a short duration; the dinner hour was eleven in the forenoon, the supper six in the evening; but the dinner was often prolonged till supper, and that protracted till late at night⁷⁰. Breakfast seems to have been a solitary meal, not universal, but, like the collation after supper, confined to a few in their private apartments⁷¹. But it was not probably an unsubstantial meal; and the collation, the slightest repast of the age, consisted often of brawn, jellies, sweetmeats, ale, brandy, and spiced wines⁷².

In Scotland.

The diet of the Scots was worse, and more penurious than that of the English. The peasants subsisted chiefly on oatmeal and cabbages, for animal food was sparingly used, even at the tables of substantial gentlemen. An English traveller, who experienced the hospitality of a Scottish knight, describes the table as furnished with large platters of porridge, in each of which was a small piece of sodden beef, and remarks, that the servants en-

⁶⁹ Stowe, p. 535. Cavendish.

⁷⁰ Warton's Hist. Poet. vol. iii. p. 343. n. Antiq. Rep. p. 1548.
⁷¹ Latimer, 102.

⁷² Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. p. 150. Hollingshed, 170.

⁷³ Vid. The Articles of a Collation enumerated in Squire Meldrum, a Scottish Poem, by Sir David Lindsay of the Mount.

tered in their blue caps without uncovering, and, instead of attending, seated themselves with their master at table. *His* mess was better however than theirs, a boiled pullet with prunes in the broth; but his guest observed, “no art of cookery, or furniture of household stuff, but rather rude neglect of both⁷³.” Forks are a recent invention, and in England the table was only supplied with knives; but in Scotland every gentleman produced from his girdle a knife, and cut the meat into morsels for himself and the women; a practice that first intermixed the ladies and gentlemen alternately at table. The use of the fingers in eating required a scrupulous attention to cleanliness, and ablution was customary, at least at court, both before and after meals⁷⁴. But the court and the nobility emulated the French in their manners, and adopted probably their refinements in diet. The Scottish reader will observe, that the knights dinner was composed of two coarse dishes peculiar to Scotland⁷⁵; but others of an exquisite delicacy were probably derived from the French, and retained, with little alteration, by a nation otherwise ignorant of the culinary arts. The Scots, though assimilating fast to the English, still resemble the French in their tables.

⁷³ Moryson's Itinerary, part iii. p. 155. Moryson's journey into Scotland was in 1598; but his landlord seems to have retained the manners of the former age.

⁷⁴ Leland's Collectanea, vol. iv. p. 283.

⁷⁵ The one was, salt-meat and oatmeal boiled together; the other, a fowl boiled with leeks and prunes—both national dishes.

Liquors.

Ale and Gascony wines were the principal liquors; but mead, cyder, and perry, were not uncommon. Hops were still scarce, and seldom employed in ale, which was brewed therefore in small quantities, to be drank while new. At the king's table ale was prohibited as unfit for use till five days old ⁷⁶. The wines, whatever was their quality, were certainly superior to our present harsh and astringent port; yet Erasmus complains repeatedly that good wine was unknown in England. His frail and sickly constitution required wine of a peculiar age and quality; and it is probable that his poverty deterred him from procuring the best ⁷⁷. The wine was still circulated in a large cup, from which the company drank alternately ⁷⁸. The English were sober, the Scotch intemperate; they are accused at least by their own historians of excessive drinking, an imputation long attached to their national character ⁷⁹.

Diversions.

Martial diversions have been already described, and the sports of the field are, in different ages, pursued with an uniformity almost permanent. In England hunting has ever been a favourite diversion, and hawking has only been superseded by the fusil; but it was still practised with unabating ardour, and cultivated scientifically as a liberal art. Treatises were composed on the diet and discipline proper for the falcon; the genus was discriminated like social life, and a species appropriated to every intermediate rank, from an emperor down to a

⁷⁶ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 72. 108. ⁷⁷ Epist. 124. 144.

⁷⁸ Epist. 447. ⁷⁹ Beethius, p. 15. Moryson, 156.

knave or peasant ; nor were gentlemen more distinguished by the blazoning of heraldry, than by the particular hawks they were entitled to carry⁸⁰. The long bow was also employed in fowling, a sport in which much dexterity was requisite ; but archery was even a female amusement ; and it is recorded that Margaret, on her journey to Scotland, killed a buck with an arrow in Alnwick Park⁸¹. The preservation of the feathered game was enforced in the present age by a statute, the first that was enacted of those laws which have since accumulated into a code of oppression⁸².

The Scottish monarchs hunted in the Highlands, sometimes in a style of eastern magnificence. For the reception of James V., the queen his mother, and the pope's ambassador, the earl of Atholl constructed a palace or bower of green timber, interwoven with boughs, mated around, and provided with turrets, portcullice, and drawbridge, and furnished within with whatever was suitable for a royal abode. The hunting continued for three days, during which, independent of roes, wolves, and foxes, six hundred deer were captured ; an incredible number, unless we suppose that a large district was surrounded, and the game driven into a narrow circle to be slain, without fatigue, by the king and his retinue. On their departure the earl set fire to the palace, an honour that excited the ambassador's surprise ; but the king informed him that it was customary with Highlanders to burn

⁸⁰ Strutt, vol. iii. p. 124.

⁸¹ Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 278.

⁸² 25 Hen. VIII. c. 17.

those habitations they deserted. They earl's hospitality was estimated at the daily expence of a thousand pounds, at present equivalent at least to three thousand pounds sterling²³.

Masques
and page-
ants.

During the present period, several games were invented or practised to the disuse of archery, for the promotion of which, bowls, quoits, cales, tennis, cards, and dice, were prohibited by the legislature as unlawful games²⁴. Tennis, however, was a royal pastime, in which Henry VIII. in his youth delighted much; and a match is recorded between him and the emperor, the prince of Orange, and the marquis of Brandenburg²⁵. But the favourite amusements of court, next to tournaments, were masques and pageants; the one an Italian diversion subservient to gallantry, the other a vehicle of gross adulation. The masques were destitute of character, humour, and dialogue; they were conducted in dumb show, and their merit consisted in the grotesque disguises of a part of the company, who entered as strangers to dance with the ladies. The masque and pageant were often united; for the pageant was properly a piece of machinery, an artificial mountain, a ship, a castle, in which the masquers were introduced into the hall, or from which, in solemn processions, allegorical personages recited pedantic and long panegyrics.

Theatrical
amuse-
ments.

Curiosity is naturally excited concerning the present state, which is properly the origin, of the English drama; that state which preceded its

²³ PISCOURIE, 146.

²⁴ 33 Hen. VIII. c. 9.

²⁵ BAL. 52.
youthful

youthful vigour, when Shakespeare delineated human nature, even in the wildness of a fairy creation. But historical informations are not satisfactory, and we can only conclude that the revival of letters discredited mysteries, and propagated a purer taste for dramatic composition. We discover that a comedy from Plautus was performed at court, where, at Christmas, plays, or rather short interludes, were often represented⁸⁶. But the revival of letters introduced the drama into schools and colleges; plays were composed by professors, and performed by their pupils; nor did grave lawyers, at their annual festivals, disdain the laurels acquired on the stage⁸⁷. These however were temporary stages; but the church is still to be regarded as an established theatre, licensed, not indeed by divine permission, for the gratuitous exhibition of religious spectacles. Dispossessed by the reformers, or interdicted from preaching by the king's supremacy, the popish clergy seceded to secular stages, and endeavoured to discredit the gossellers by farces more efficacious and popular than their former sermons. The reformers retaliated, by converting the mysteries of the church into a satirical representation of the corruptions of popery; and repeated ordinances were afterwards necessary to suppress these ludicrous polemics of

⁸⁶ Hall, p. 3. 67. 256.

⁸⁷ Warton's Hist. Poet. vol. ii. 366. At Gray's-Inn, during the celebration of Christmas, a play was exhibited by the students, so offensive to Wolsey, that he imprisoned the author, a serjeant Roe, and deprived him of his coif. Hall, 154.

the church and stage⁸⁸. In churches the performers were chiefly the choiristers; at court they were probably minstrels, of whom a company followed queen Margaret from England, and exhibited several plays or mysteries at the Scottish court⁸⁹. The minstrels, who disappeared under Henry VIII. were probably converted, by the prevalence of theatrical amusements, into itinerant players; in the succeeding reign, an established and apparently a numerous profession⁹⁰.

Bear-baiting.

A more ignoble, perhaps a more popular spectacle, consisted of bears; "of which," says Erasmus, "many herds are maintained in Britain, for the purpose of dancing." Bear-baiting was a favourite diversion, exhibited as a suitable amusement for a prince's⁹¹.

Domestic diversions.

The winter solstice, when the sun regains his northern direction, was celebrated by our remote and idolatrous ancestors; and christianity, unable to suppress the festival, transferred it under the same name to a different day. At Christmas, or the feast of *Yule*⁹², peculiar dishes have been always employed, and every domestic diversion

⁸⁸ Warton, vol. iii. p. 198. Burnet's Hist. Ref. vol. i. p. 318.

⁸⁹ Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299, 300. Twenty-pence was the established price of each play exhibited at Christmas in the Northumberland family, and the annual expence of such representations amounted only to 33 shillings. *Northumberland Household Book*.

⁹⁰ Warton ut supra. Pinkerton justly remarks that the minstrel, in the entertainment of queen Elizabeth at Killingworth, is introduced as a character of former times. *Scottish Ballads*, Pref. 74.

⁹¹ Erasmi Adagia, p. 361. Leland's Collect. vol. iv. p. 299.

⁹² Festis Iolenis, as it is translated from the Scandinavian language. Vid. Baillie's Letters sur les Sciences et sur l'Atlantide.

adopted

adopted that tends to cheer or to dissipate the gloom of winter. To regulate, or rather to promote such pastimes, a lord or abbot of misrule was created⁹³; but of these amusements, perhaps, the most rational was the recital of old and romantic tales. The domestic amusements, in a period subsequent to the present, are thus enumerated: "The
 " ordinary recreations which we have in winter are
 " cardes, tables and dice, shovel board, chesse play,
 " the philosophers game, small trunkes, billiards,
 " musicke, maskes, singing, dancing, ule-games,
 " catches, purposes, questions; merry tales of
 " errant knights, kings, queens, lovers, lords,
 " ladies, giants, dwarfs, thieves, fayries, goblins,
 " friars, witches, and the rest"⁹⁴." Among these amusements cards began to predominate, to be prohibited by parliament, and licensed by the king. Gaming became more inordinate and ruinous⁹⁵; but let not cards be therefore depreciated; an happy invention, which, adapted equally to every capacity, removes the invidious distinctions of nature, bestows on fools the pre-eminence of genius, or reduces wit and wisdom to the level of folly.

⁹³ In Scotland, the Abbot of Unreason. Arnot's Hist. Edin.

⁹⁴ Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, p. 271.

⁹⁵ Rymer's Fœd. vol. xiii. p. 330. vol. xiv. p. 707. Fitzherbert, 98.



APPENDIX
TO THE
SIXTH BOOK.

Nº I.

BIRCH MS. 4160. 5. collated with HARL. MS. 482. fol. 128.

[The original of this, in an old written hand, is in the hands of Sir Robert Cotton, 18th August 1616.]

PERKIN WARBECK's *Proclamation, published in the Time of his Rebellion in the Beginning of the Reign of HENRY VII.*

RICHARD, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, lord of Ireland, prince of Wales: To all those that these our present letters shall see, hear, or read, and to every of them, greeting. And whereas we, in our tender age, escaped, by God's great might, out of the Tower of London, and were secretly conveyed over the sea to other divers countries, there remaining certain years as unknown; the which season it happened one Henry, son to Edmond Tydder, earl of Richmond created, son to Owen Tydder, of low birth, in the county of Wales, to come from France and entered into this our realm, and by subtle false means to obtain the crown of the same unto us of right appertaining. Which Henry is our extreme and mortal enemy; as soon as he had knowledge of our being alive, imagined, compassed, and

C c 2 wrought

wrought all the subtle ways and means he could devise to our final destruction, inſomuch as he hath not only falſely ſurmifed us to be a feigned perſon, giving us nicknames, ſo abuſing your minds, but alſo, to deter and put us from our entry into this our realm, hath offered large ſums of money to corrupt the princes in every land and country; and that we have been retained with and made importune labour to certain of our ſervants about our perſon, ſome of them to murder our perſon, and other to forſake and leave our righteous quarrel and to depart from our ſervices, as by Sir Robert Clyfford and other was verified and openly proved; and, to bring his curſed and malicious intent aforeſaid to his purpoſe, he hath ſubtilly and by crafty means levied outrageous and importable ſums of money upon the whole body of our realm, to the great hurt and impoveriſhing of the ſame: All which ſubtle and corrupt labours by him made, to our great jeopardy and peril, we have, by God's might, graciously eſcaped and over-paſſed as well by land as by ſea, and be now with the right high and mighty prince our deareſt couſin the king of Scots; which, without any gift or other thing by him deſired or demanded to the prejudice or hurt of us or our crown or realm, hath full lovingly and kindly retained us, by whoſe aid and ſupportation we, in proper perſon, be now, by God's grace, entered into this our realm of England, where we ſhall ſhew ourſelves openly unto you; alſo confounding our ſaid aforeſaid enemy in all his falſe ſayings, and alſo every man of reaſon and diſcretion may well underſtand that him needed not to have made the foreſaid coſtages and importune labour if we had been ſuch a feigned perſon as he untruly ſurmifeth, aſcertaining you how the mind and intent of the foreſaid noble prince or deareſt couſin is, that if that he may find or ſee our ſubjects and natural liege people, according to right and the duty of their allegiance, reſort lovingly unto us with ſuch power as by their puiſſance
ſhall

shall move, be able of likelihood to distress and subdue our enemies, he is fully set and determined to return home again quietly with his people into his own land, without doing or suffering to be done any hurt or prejudice unto our realm, or to the inhabitants of the same. Also our great enemy, to fortify his false quarrel, hath caused divers nobles of this our realm whom he hath suspect and stood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered, as our cousin the lord Fitzwater, sir William Stanley, sir Robert Chamberlayne, sir Simon Montford, sir Robert Radcliffe, William Daubeney, Humphrey Stafford, among others, besides such as have clearly bought their lives; some of which nobles are now in the sanctuary. Also he hath long kept and yet keepeth in prison, our right entirely well-beloved cousin Edward, son and heir to our uncle duke of Clarence, and others, withholding from them their rightful inheritance, to the intent they should be of might and power to aid and assist us at our need, after the duty of their leigeance. He hath also married by compulsion certain of our sisters, and also the sister of our foresaid cousin the earl of Warwick, and divers other ladies of the blood royal, unto certain of his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree; and putting apart all well-disposed nobles, he hath none in favour and trust about his person but bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Lovell, Oliver King, sir Charles Somersfet, David Owen, Ryfely, sir Joseph Tuberville, Tylere, Robert Litton, Guildeforde, Chumley, Emson, James Hobart, John Cutte, Garthe, Hansey, Wyot, and such other caitiffs and villains of simple birth; which, by subtle inventions and putting of the people, have been the principal finders, occasioners, and counsellors of the mis-rule and mischief now reigning in England. Also we be credibly informed, that our said enemy, not regarding the wealth and prosperity of this land, but only the safeguard and surety of his person, hath sent into divers places out of our realm the foresaid nobles, and caused to

be conveyed from thence to other places the treasure of this our realm, purposing to depart after, in proper person, with many other estates of the land, being now at his rule and disposition; and if he should be so suffered to depart, as God defend it should be, to the greatest hurt, jeopardy, and perill of the whole realm that could be thought or imagined: Wherefore we desire and pray you, and nevertheless charge you and every of you, as ye intend the surety of yourself and the commonwealth of our land, your native ground, to put you in your most effectual devoirs with all dilligence, to the utmost of your powers, and stop and let his passage out of this our realm; ascertaining you, that what person or persons shall fortune to take or distress him, shall have for his or their true acquittal in that behalf after their estate and degrees, so as the most low and simplest of degree that shall happen to take or distress him, shall have for his labour one thousand pounds in money, and houses and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks to him and his heirs for ever. We remembering these promises, with the great and execrable offence daily committed and done by our foresaid great enemy and his adherents, in breaking the liberty and franchises of our mother holy church, to the high displeasure of Almighty God; besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughters, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by dismes, tasks, tollages, benevolences, other unlawful impositions and grievous exactions, with many other heinous offences, to the likely destruction and desolation of the whole realm, as God defend, shall put ourself effectually in our devoir, not as a step-dame, but as the very true mother of the child, languishing or standing in perill to redress and subdue for the foresaid mischief and misrules, and to punish the occasioners and haunTERS thereof after their deserts, in example of others. We shall also by God's grace, and the help and assistance of the great lords

lords of our blood, with the council of other sage persons of approved policy, prudence, and experience, dreading God, and having tender zeal and affection to indifferent ministrations of justice and the public weal of the land, peruse and call to remembrance the good laws and customs heretofore made by our noble progenitors kings of England, and see them put in due and lawful execution, according to the effect and true meaning they were first made or ordained for; so that by virtue thereof, as well the disinheriting of rightfull heirs as the injuries and wrongs in anywise committed and done unto the subjects of our realm, both spiritual and temporal, shall be duly redressed, according to right, law, and good conscience; and we shall see that the commodities of our realm be employed to the most advantage of the sameth intercourse of merchandizes betwixt realm and realm, to be ministred and handled as shall now be to the commonweal and prosperity of our subjects; and all such dismes, tasks, tollages, benevolences, and lawful impositions, and grievous exactions, as be above rehearsed, utterly to be foredune and laid apart, and never from henceforth to be called upon, but in such cases as our noble progenitors, kings of England, have of old time been accustomed to have the aid, succour, and help of their subjects and true liegemen.

Also we will, that all such persons as have imagined, compassed, or wrought privily or apparently since the reign of our foresaid enemy, or before, any thing against us, except such as since the reign have imagined our death, shall have their free pardon for the same, of their lives, lands, and goods, so that they at this time, according to right and the duty of their allegiances, take our righteous quarrel, and part, and aid, comfort, and support us with their bodys and goods.

And over this we let you wotte, that upon our foresaid great enemy, his adherents and partakers, with all other such as will take their false quarrel, and stand in their de-

fence against us with their bodys or goods, we shall come and enter upon them as their heavy lord, and take and repute them and every of them as our traitors and rebels, and see them punished according and upon all our subjects, that according to right and the duty of their leigance will aid, succour, and comfort us with their powers, with their lives or goods, or victual our host for ready money; we shall come and enter upon them lovingly as their natural liege lord, and see they have justice to them equally ministered upon their causes: wherefore we will and desire you and every of you, that incontinent upon the hearing of this our proclamation, ye, according to the duty of your allegiance, are ready yourselves in your best defensible array, and give your personal attendance upon us where we shall then fortune to be; and in your so doing ye shall find us your right, especial, and singular good lord, and so to see you recompensed and rewarded as by your service unto us shall be deserved.

N° II.

The Confession read by PERKIN WARBECK when set in the Stocks on a Scaffold at Cheapside. Extracted from Grafton, p. 929. Hall, 49.

FIRST, it is to be knowne, That I was borne in the towne of Turney in Flaunders, and my father's name is John Olbeck, which sayde John Olbeck was comptroller of the said towne of Turney, and my mother's name is Katheryn de Faro; and one of my grandfires upon my father's side was named Dyrck Olbeck, which dyed; after whose death my grandmother was maryed unto Peter Flamme, that was receaver of the forenamed towne of Turney, and deane of the botemen that rowe upon the water

water or ryver called Leschelde; and my groundfire upon my mother's side was Peter de Faro, which had in his keeping the keyes of the gate of Saint John's within the same town of Turney; also I had an uncle called Maister John Stalyn, dwelling in the parishe of Saint Pyas within the same towne, which had married my father's sister, whose name was Jone or Jane, with whome I dwelled a certayne season; and after I was led by my mother to Andwerp for to learn Flemishe in a house of a cousin of mine, an officer of the said towne, called John Stienbeck, with whome I was the space of halfe a yere; and after that I returned again to Turney, by reason of the warres that were in Flaunders; and within a yere following I was sent with a marchaunt of the said towne of Turney named Berlo, to the marte of Andwarpe, where I fell sick, which sicknesse continued upon five moneths; and the said Barlo sent me to borde in a skinner's house that dwelled beside the house of the Englishe nation; and by him I was from thence carried to Barowe marte, and I lodged at the signe of the Olde Man, where I abode the space of two moneths; and after this the sayd Barlo sent me with a marchant of Middelborough to service for to learne the language, whose name was John Strewe, with whom I dwelled from Christmas til Easter, and then I went into Portyngale, in the company of sir Edward Bramptone's wyfe, in a ship which was called the Quene's ship; and when I was come thether, then I was put in service to a knight that dwelled in Lushborne, whiche was called Peter Wars de Cogna, wyth whome I dwelled an whole yere, whiche sayde knight had but one eye; and because I desyred to see other countries, I toke licence of him, and then I put myselfe in service with a Briton, called Pregent Meno, the which brought me with him into Ireland, and when we were there arrived in the towne of Corke; they of the towne, because I was arrayed with some clothes of filke of my sayde maister's, came unto me and threaped upon

mee that I should be the duke of Clarence sonne that was before time at Duellin; and forasmuch as I denied it, there was brought unto me the holy Evangelists and the crosse by the maior of the towne, which was called John le Mellen, and there in the presence of him and other I tooke my othe as the truthe was, that I was not the forsayde duke's sonne, nor nonne of his blood: and after this came unto me an Englishman, whose name was Stephen Poytron, with one John Water, and layde to me in swearyng great othes, that they knew well that I was king Richarde's bastard sonne; to whom I answered with like othes, that I was not; and then they advised me not to be afearde, but that I should take it upon me boldly, and if I would so do, they would ayde and assist me with all their power against the king of England, and not only they, but they were assured well that the erles of Desmond and Kildare should do the same; for they forced not what parte they tooke, so that they might be revenged upon the king of England, and so against my will made me to learne Englishe, and taught me what I should do and say; and after this they called me duke of Yorke, second sonne of king Edward the fourth, because king Richarde's bastard sonne was in the handes of the king of England; and upon this the sayde John Water, Stephen Poytron, John Tiler, Hughbert Burgh, with many other, as the forsayde erles, entered into this false quarrell: and within a short time after the French king sent an ambassador into Ireland, whose name was Loyte Lucas, and mayster Stephyn Fryam, to advertise me to come into Fraunce; and thence I went into Fraunce, and from thence into Flaunders, and from Flaunders into Ireland, and from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England.

N° III.

*Dissertation on the Character of PERKIN WARBECK,
and on the Crimes imputed to Richard the Third.*

THIS Appendix the author lived not to execute; and it is much to be regretted, that no memorial remains of his opinion on a subject so long controverted, and still so obscure. The character of Richard, and the transactions during his troubled reign, are inseparable from the controversy concerning Warbeck; and of that controversy, a particular examination is considered as requisite to complete this volume. Historical dissertation admits of minuter research, and more critical disquisition than general history; nor am I responsible if, in some particulars, these researches correspond not entirely with the text of our author.

The murder of Richard's nephews is represented by most historians, as the necessary sequel of his former crimes. He meditated, it is said, at an early period, his accession to the throne, and for that purpose promoted the execution of Clarence, his brother, and procured from parliament the attainder of his issue. On the death of Edward IV. he intercepted the person of the young king, and imprisoned his kinsmen, conducted him with pomp and seeming respect to the Tower, obtained or extorted from the privy council the office of protector, professed in public, and with repeated oaths, his allegiance to his nephew, but concerted secretly to despoil him of his crown. Alike regardless of the ties of friendship, of oaths, and of bloodshed, he executed, without trial, Hastings his friend, Gray, Rivers, Vaughan, and others, from whom he apprehended obstruction to his schemes; and then circulated absurd reports, to persuade the people that his nephews were bastards, and himself the legitimate

legitimate heir of the crown. It was insinuated, that Richard alone was legitimate, as his brothers had sprung from their mother's illicit amours, and asserted, that Edward's previous marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, rendered his connexion with the queen adulterous, and their issue spurious. The last topic was employed by Buckingham, who harangued the citizens on Richard's pretensions; and obtaining a few faint acclamations, he proceeded next day, with the mayor and aldermen, to tender the crown to Richard, who, after much affected importunity, consented to reign. Such an usurpation was to be secured by the murder of the young princes; and is it credible that Richard, the perjured Richard, whose steps to the throne were marked with blood, would abstain from the devoted lives of his nephews? Their removal was requisite for his security; for conspiracies were forming to restore them to liberty, and reinstate them in their rights. That they were removed by murders is demonstrated by their sudden disappearance, and the subsequent prevailing report of their death; by Richard's inability to produce them in order to dispel such rumours; by his proposed alliance with their sister Elizabeth, whose right to the crown was only valid in the event of their death; and by the united testimony of the principal Yorkists, who, assured that the princes were dead, joined the Lancastrians to dethrone the tyrant. The particulars of the murder were afterwards investigated, authenticated by the confession of the surviving assassins, and in a subsequent age corroborated by the accidental discovery of the bodies. Warbeck, who personated the younger brother, was therefore an impostor. His story is incredible; those who dispatched his brother spared him from compassion, and connived at his escape. In that event, instead of consuming his early youth as an obscure wanderer, he must have speedily re-appeared in the Netherlands, at his aunt the duchess of Burgundy's court; and the partisans
of

of York must have been soon apprised of his miraculous escape. But he appeared not till nine years afterwards, not till the support which the duchess had given to another impostor, disclosed her ignorance of his escape, and her readiness to concur in every similar imposture, distressing to Henry. And the evidence, apparently to complete, is fortified and rendered irresistible by Warbeck's voluntary confession at the gibbet, when he had nothing to expect from Henry's clemency, and nothing farther to apprehend from his power.

The preceding is certainly a plausible narrative, if not entirely consistent with historical truth. Nor is its truth contested, unless by a few, whose opinion, however, the result of judicious and accurate inquiries, is entitled to peculiar respect and attention. The controversy between them resolves into four general divisions, or portions, I. The crimes attributed to Richard's youth; II. His usurpation or acquisition of the crown; III. The fate of his nephews; and IV. The pretensions and character of Perkin Warbeck. But it is necessary, previous to such inquiries, to ascertain the credit due to original authorities, and these have been properly reduced to the unknown continuator of the Chronicle of Croyland Abbey, to Rous, Fabian, and Sir Thomas More. The three first were contemporary with Richard, the last with Warbeck; but Fabian was a wretched annalist, more attentive to the succession of mayors and sheriffs, than to the transactions of princes; and Rous, a recluse priest, seems to have written without information, but with all the bigotry and prejudice of the Lancastrian party. The Chronicle of Croyland is less partial; the author is favourable to Edward's memory, and expresses some regret at the indignities offered to Richard's body. Sir Thomas More is a copious historian, and his narrative of Richard's usurpa-

* With the respected names of Carte and Walpole, may I inscribe that of the late Dr. Henry?

tion, and the murder of his nephews, has been transcribed in every subsequent Chronicle, adopted by Polydore Virgil, and followed almost implicitly by modern historians. To these Bacon has been added as an original authority; a character to which Buck is equally entitled, as both had access to original papers that are now destroyed. But in these inquiries, it is chiefly necessary to guard against the imposing authority of great names.

I. An impartial historian must exculpate Richard of the crimes imputed to his early youth², the murder of Henry VI. of his son prince Edward, and perhaps of Clarence. According to the Croyland Chronicle, prince Edward, the duke of Somerset, the earl of Devonshire, and others, were slain at the battle of Tewkesbury, or afterwards, *ultrixibus quorundam manibus*; according to Fabian, Edward, on receiving a blow from the king, was dispatched by his servants; but in the next century, historians, improving on the story, devolved this menial office on Clarence, Dorset, Hastings, and Gloucester³. The death of Henry happened, according to Fabian, on the eve of Ascension, the night after king Edward's triumphal arrival in London; a concurrence of circumstances sufficient to afford just suspicion of a violent death. It was variously related, says Fabian; but the prevailing report was, that Richard stabbed him. The Croyland Chronicle is less explicit: *Taceo hoc temporum interstitio, inventum esse corpus regis Henrici, in turrum Londiniarum exanime; parcat Deus, et spatium penitentiae ei donet, quicumque tam sacrilegas manus in Christum Domini, ausus est immittere. Unde agens tyranni*

² Richard, who perished prematurely at the age of thirty-two, was a youth of eighteen at the battle of Tewkesbury. It is not likely that such a boy would be employed to assassinate Henry and his son.

³ Hall, Grafton, Hollingshed. Stowe, a more judicious author, adheres strictly to Fabian. Buck quotes an ancient MS. Chronicle in Sir Robert Cotton's custody, to prove that Richard, though present, drew not his sword. Buck apud Kennet. See Chron. Croyl. p. 555.

patiensque glorioſi martyris, titulum mereatur *. The narrative indicates the popular rumour, that the martyr perished by the tyrant's (probably Richard's) hands; but we discover from Hollingſhed that the death of Henry, as recorded in certain contemporary writers, was occaſioned by extreme grief for the loſs of his ſon, his own diſaſters, and the ruin of his friends †. This, though aſſerted by writers, “favouring altogether,” ſays Hollingſhed, “the “houſe of York,” is the more probable, as Richard ſeems to have entertained too much reſpect for the good old king, to be the unneceſſary and officious inſtrument of his death. After his acceſſion, he removed the body of Henry from Chertſey, and interred it with royal ſolemnity at Windſor ‡; a circumſtance imputable only to a veneration either for the illuſtrious deſcent, or the piety of a monarch, who, becauſe he was a fool, was reputed a faint. The pretended rumour is contradicted therefore, both by contemporary evidence, and a fair interpretation of Richard's conduct, who would not, after an interval of twelve years, revive, by any indiſcreet hypocrify, a rumour ſo prejudicial to his own reputation. But the following remarkable information is contained in a late edition of Shakeſpeare: “It has been obſerved to me by Mr. Edderton, that it appears on the face of the public accounts “allowed in the Exchequer for the maintenance of Henry VI. and his numerous attendants in the Tower, “that he lived to the twelfth of June, which was twenty- “two days after the time aſſigned for his pretended aſſaſ- “ſination; was expoſed to public view at St. Paul's for “ſome days, and interred at Chertſey with much ſolemnity, and at no inconfiderable expence.” If the fact be ſuch, and I ſee no reaſon to queſtion the authority, what becomes of our ancient chroniclers? I will not ſpeak of

* Chron. Croyl. p. 556.

† Hollingſhed, vol. ii. p. 690.

‡ Reus, p. 217. Stowe, 424.

§ Malone's Shakeſpeare, vol. xi. p. 653.

their accuracy; but what reliance can be placed in their truth? If Henry died not on the night of Edward's triumphal entry, there is no foundation for the suspicion of violence; and we must conclude that Fabian and the monk of Croyland, writing at a distant period, (Fabian died in 1512,) forgot the regular succession of events, and adopted a subsequent vain surmise, in order to render their saint a martyr⁸. These crimes originated, therefore, from the same Lancastrian prejudices that accused Richard of murdering his wife, whose death was occasioned by a lingering malady, and accelerated, as the monk of Croyland conjectures and insinuates, not by poison, but her husband's neglect⁹.

The execution of Clarence is ascribed, by our older historians, to the queen's instigation, whose intercession might have certainly saved him, and whose brother Rivers was enriched by his forfeiture. But I cannot discover that Richard was a gainer, that he obtained a larger portion of his wife's inheritance¹⁰. The queen's relations were ambitious and insolent; Clarence, impatient, impetuous, and haughty; and, as they domineered at court, his imprudent opposition, and perhaps the temptation of a rich confiscation, provoked his fate. Their procedure was conformable to the court intrigues of the period; they began by accusing and convicting his domestics and friends, in order to impel him to some desperate counsels.

⁸ Hollinshed, to render the murder indisputable, asserts that the wounds bled afresh at St. Paul's.

⁹ Chron. Croyl. p. 572.

¹⁰ Rymer Fœd. vol. xii. p. 95. The hypocritical language of this donation is curious, and seems to fasten the murder indisputably on Rivers. "*Sciatis quod nos, inclitæ memoriæ nostræ reducentes de grandibus injuriis, gravaminibusque offensis, non solum carissimo consanguineo nostro Antonio comiti Ryvers, verum etiam nobilibus parentibus suis, per Georgium nuper ducem Clarenciæ indigne perpetratis, et quod idem dux, die quo obiit et antea, voluit et intendebat quod prædictus comes omnino recompensaretur.*" The grant insinuates that Clarence, at his death, made a nuncupative will in Rivers' favour; a proof that his conduct required exculpation.

Buckingham,

Buckingham, connected them with the queen's party by his marriage with her sister, was created high-steward to pronounce the sentence; and Clarence's fate is the counterpart of Humphrey duke of Gloucester's, who perished in the former reign, by the machinations of queen Margaret, and Suffolk her minion. Richard, who had also quarrelled with the queen's relations, acted with more circumspection than Clarence; yet the same influence that ruined his brother might have been directed afterwards against himself: nor is it probable that he would weaken his own security by conniving indirectly at the destruction of Clarence. The queen's influence was formidable, and exerted for the worst purposes, to aggrandize her family by the depression or ruin of the principal nobility. Hastings once was committed to the Tower, and his life endangered by the accusation of Rivers¹¹; and Richard, from the ambitious views of the queen and her kindred, and their influence during an unprincipled reign, had certainly some reason to apprehend that Clarence's fate might extend to himself.

II. These transactions then, give us no indications of Richard's character, his ambition, his cunning, or predisposition to cruelty. The succeeding events are more decisive: the young king intercepted; Rivers, Gray, and Vaughan apprehended, and with Hastings executed, without even the formality of a trial. Gloucester, as first prince of the blood, was constitutionally protector; but the queen had certainly projected measures for retaining her influence during the minority, and securing the regency to herself or her brother. She had ordered Rivers to raise an army; a measure calculated not for escorting the king, but for preserving to themselves the possession of his person, intimidating their enemies, and usurping the

¹¹ Sir Thomas More.

government. When the scheme was detected and counteracted in council, the escort was limited to two thousand men; and whether these troops were brought forward, some artifice seems to have been employed at Nottingham in detaching Gray, Rivers, and Vaughan from the king's attendants. There they were arrested; and the hints casually furnished by historians, of Dorset's entering the Tower, removing the treasures of the late king, and employing them partly in preparing a fleet, demonstrate that the Grays were accused with reason, of conspiring to seize the administration, by retaining the person of the young king¹². So far Gloucester is justifiable, as he only anticipated those whose ambition threatened disturbance to the state. But the subsequent execution of these noblemen, and of Hastings, Richard's friend and confederate, must be ascribed to a premeditated scheme of usurpation. The protector aspired to the crown, and secured it by the previous removal of every obstacle; and in these sanguinary transactions we discover the first certain indications of his ambitious designs.

Yet our progress is arrested by an unexpected difficulty—Edward's marriage with lady Eleanor Butler,—a fact better authenticated than historians imagine. The Croyland Chronicle, and a passage (a vague passage) in the Memoirs of Commynes, were regarded as the only evidence, till the rolls of Richard's parliament were discovered and published. Yet these authorities, separately, are not satisfactory: the marriage is mentioned by Commynes and the monk of Croyland, as a pretext adopted to justify Richard's usurpation; nor are the rolls of parliament of more authority, than any attestation of a falsehood that might be extorted then from a servile, or obtained to-day from a venal parliament. But there is another authority less controvertible, the respected authority of sir Thomas More.

¹² Sir Thomas More. Walpole's Historic Doubts.

His history is a highly coloured, though unfinished performance, published originally in English, afterwards in Latin, the language in which it was probably first composed. The English copy is inserted in Hall, Grafton, Stowe, and Hollinghed; but a licentious and faulty paraphrase by Strype or Kennet, has, with most authors, superseded the original¹³. The history from its very commencement is partial; it expatiates on Richard's personal deformity and monstrous birth, his perverseness and pravity *while still in the womb*; ascribes the murder of Henry to his dagger, the death of Clarence to his intrigues and ambition; and proceeds to relate such mysterious, and secret transactions, as the death of the actors precluded from transpiring. At the death of Hastings, in explaining the pretext employed by Richard for bastardising his nephews, the historian pauses, suspends his narration; reverts to the period of Edward's marriage with Elizabeth Gray, and that for the express purpose of demonstrating that his previous marriage, or precontract with another, was an obsolete calumny already refuted. He informs us that the duchess of York, disapproving of the proposed connexion with Elizabeth Gray, endeavoured to dissuade her son from the marriage. "The king was inflexible; "and his mother" (I translate from the Latin) "incensed "at his disobedience, concerted other measures for impeding the match. Elizabeth Lucy, a lady of noble birth and exquisite beauty, had been debauched by "Edward. On the approach of the nuptials, when the "banns were published, the duchess his mother, as if to "absolve her conscience, objected with tears, that her "son was already espoused to Elizabeth Lucy, their faith

¹³ With Hume, it certainly superseded the original, when he asserted that More mentioned lady Butler's as well as Elizabeth Lucy's marriage, and treated them both lightly as rumours. Hist. vol. iii. p. 455. note M. Lady Butler's name is not once mentioned by More; but her story is inserted in Kennet's Version.

“ plighted, and their nuptials consummated. The marriage was therefore interrupted, either by the priest’s refusal, or the king’s reluctance to celebrate the rites, till an asperision, to which his mother’s scruples had contributed weight and authority, was examined and disproved. Elizabeth Lucy, though instructed secretly, and inspired with ambitious views by the duchess, confessed, when interrogated on oath, that whatever were her expectations, no matrimonial obligation had been contracted by Edward. Thus the pretended marriage was detected, and its falsehood published, previous to the king’s marriage with Elizabeth Gray. These circumstances,” the historian concludes, “ are detailed perhaps with too much prolixity ; but it is necessary to know that the sole objection which the Protector discovered against Edward’s marriage was a calumny long exploded and antiquated.”

This passage, divested of its rhetoric, discloses an important historical fact — that Edward’s marriage with lady Gray was interrupted for a time by his own mother ; that she appeared in church when the banns were published, and with tears prohibited the celebration of the marriage, as her son was already contracted to another. Her allegation, the more authoritative as it proceeds from a mother, is disproved by Elizabeth Lucy’s confession : the historian dwells on this as a confutation of the calumny. Surely were these circumstances admitted as truth, when a mother, terrified at the violation of a sacramental obligation, (marriage then was esteemed a sacrament,) prohibits her son’s nuptials, a reasonable suspicion may be entertained that her objection was not without foundation, that a monarch, impetuous in his passions, and arbitrary like Edward, might either extort or fabricate the pretended confession.

But in this pretended confession there is no truth. The pretext of Richard’s usurpation was his brother’s precontract,

tract, not with Lucy, but with lady Eleanor Butler. Shaw therefore, if instructed by the Protector, could not preach on Edward's precontract with Elizabeth Lucy; nor could Buckingham adopt such an injudicious topic in haranguing the citizens. Richard could not resort to an objection absolutely preclusive of his own pretensions; for Elizabeth Lucy had a son by Edward, Arthur Plantagenet, afterwards lord Lisle, whose legitimacy must have been recognised with his mother's marriage, and his title established to the crown itself. The fact is indisputable, that Richard's nephews were excluded as spurious, on account of their father's marriage with Eleanor Butler. "Osten-
 debatur in quodam rotulo pergameni, quod filii regis
 Edwardi erant bastardi, supponendo illum præcontrax-
 isse cum quadam Alienora Boteler, antequam reginam
 Elizabeth duxisset uxorem." Cron. Croyl.—"Edward
 was and stood married, and troth plight to one dame
 Eleanor Butler, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury, with
 whom the said king Edward had made a precontract of
 matrimony long time before he made the pretended
 marriage with Elizabeth Gray." Roll of Parliament.—
 What then does More's information amount to? He in-
 forms us that the objection was not devised by Richard,
 but that it had been agitated previous even to Edward's
 marriage. Does he disprove it? He substitutes a different
 female, and on her confession, which must be fictitious,
 argues against the existence of the marriage. The con-
 clusion is inevitable, that the king's marriage with Eleanor
 Butler stands authenticated by her mother's attestation,
 and refuted by no contradictory evidence.

I venerate too much the character of sir Thomas More, not to attribute, if possible, his mistakes to ignorance; but I am afraid that his narrative discovers in the sequel, an intended and artful deviation from the truth. Fabian informs us, that Shaw preached on Sunday, to the dispa-
 ragement of Edward's children, and *abucion* of the audi-

ence; that on Tuesday, Buckingham harangued the citizens assembled in Guildhall; and that Richard, assuming on Thursday the regal dignity, was conducted to Westminster and installed as king. Fabian in these particulars could not be mistaken, though he knew not, or neglected to mention a public instrument produced on Thursday at Barnard's castle, conceived in the name of the lords and commons, containing a recital of Richard's titles, and a supplication for his immediate assumption of the crown. This, the Croyland Chronicle assures us, was the *pretext* and *colour* employed to justify the Protector's usurpation; but sir Thomas More, in opposition to every historical evidence, has devised a different pretext and colour. Buckingham, and the lords of his party, attended by the mayor and aldermen and a multitude of citizens, proceeded on Wednesday to the Protector's residence, who, affecting to mistrust their intentions, appeared at a gallery to receive their address. Buckingham announced the desire of the people; Richard, after much declamatory dialogue, is persuaded to reign; and the historian concludes with some facetious and pertinent remarks on this scenic exhibition. These circumstances are certainly possible, but they could not have escaped the observation of Fabian. A citizen and a spectator apparently of every public solemnity, he could not have failed to mention the convocation of the citizens in consequence of Buckingham's request on Tuesday, their procession to Barnard's castle, and their interview with the Protector; transactions of far more pomp and importance than Shaw's sermon at Paul's cross, or Buckingham's speech at Guildhall. The events of Sunday, of Tuesday, and of Thursday, are in Fabian recorded with care; the transactions of Wednesday are represented by More as the necessary sequel of those on Tuesday, as occasioned by the acclamations of a few apprentices, and Buckingham's public request to the citizens to attend him on the morrow. The silence both of Fabian and the monk

of Croyland, disproves these incidents, and demonstrates, that they were interpolated by More to supply the unoccupied interval between Buckingham's harangue on Tuesday, and the supplication presented to Richard on Thursday. His intention is obvious; to suppress the real pretext or colour employed to vindicate Richard's accession, and for that purpose he diverts our attention to a different day, and substitutes a different, and a false pretext. The supplication, still engrossed in the rolls of parliament, establishes Richard's title on Edward's prior marriage with Eleanor Butler, and the consequent illegitimacy of his offspring by Elizabeth Gray. More, instead of refusing, evades the plea, substitutes Lucy, to conceal the marriage of Eleanor Butler, and creates a series of fictitious transactions, to suppress the knowledge of Richard's titles, and obscure the proximate cause of his accession to the throne. Lucy, preferred it seems as a daughter by the duchess of York, was, according to More, *nec ignobilis, quem forte virginem res corruptet*. She was the daughter of one Wiat, the wife of one Lucy, obscure persons; and if More was ignorant of her marriage with the latter, (a circumstance preclusive of her contract with Edward,) he must have been sensible that neither the Wiats nor the Lucys were then ennobled. His inadvertence has retained a circumstance historically certain. Lord Butler's widow was of noble birth; her father was the earl of Shrewsbury, her mother the former duke of Buckingham's daughter, and her marriage with Edward is still attested by more than common historical evidence. Had the historian maintained, instead of controverting, the existence of the marriage, our assurance would have depended on his veracity; but his attempt to confute it by the suppression of certain circumstances, and the substitution of others, demonstrates that the fact was incontestable, too strong to be fairly stated, and too stubborn to be openly resisted. His extreme anxiety, his solicitude to convince us that the

accusation was calumnious, betrays his knowledge and conviction of its truth. He had explored it to the source, traced it backward to Richard's mother, to the distant period of Edward's marriage. He assures us that it was not invented by Richard, and explains it at length, *ut melius cognoscatur quam falsam olim revictam, rejectamque calumniam preterit.* *Ee ignoraretur protector, Edwardi filiis natalium vitium objecturus, nihil reperisse quod illius matrimonio objiceret, præter excusam olim et antiquatam calumniam.* Yet this antiquated calumny, so long and so industriously exploded, cannot bear a relation without the most material deviation from truth. His very solicitude to explain, his industrious researches to discover, the truth, are evidence against him. He had discovered its origin at Edward's marriage (1463), and must have understood its application at Richard's accession in 1483. In every particular he suppresses the truth, and but for a casual discovery in the sequel of his history, compared with a passage in the Memoirs of Commynes, the world would have still been ignorant, that lady Butler's marriage with Edward was examined in council, that it was supported by the depositions of different witnesses, and established by the testimony of Stillington the bishop, who performed the ceremony.

An historian, with whose philosophical genius the minute details of history were scarcely compatible, has remarked, that the statute declaring the illegitimacy of Edward's children, appeared, on Henry's accession and marriage with Elizabeth, too despicable to be reversed by parliament¹⁴. Henry's policy in suppressing that statute, affords additional proof of Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, and an adequate solution of More's intentional perversion of the fact. The Year Book informs us, that the judges, assembled by Henry to consult together on the

¹⁴ Hume's Hist. vol. iii. p. 457. note M.

repeal of the statute, proposed, that it should be "taken off the rolls, annulled, cancelled, destroyed, and burnt," without being rehearsed, its contents divulged, or more than a few words of the preamble recited. The reason assigned was, that the statute, because it was "false, shameful, and seditious, ought to be put in perpetual oblivion; for if any part of the specialty of the matter had been rehearsed, then had it remained in remembrance always." The statute would have been destroyed without the ceremony of being reversed, but an act was necessary to indemnify those to whose custody the rolls were entrusted¹⁵. The statute was abrogated therefore in parliament, taken off the rolls and destroyed; and those possessed of copies were directed, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment, to deliver them to the chancellor; "so that all things said or remembered in the bill and act be for ever out of remembrance and forgotten¹⁶." The statute was abrogated without recital, in order to conceal its purport, and obliterate if possible the facts it attested; and a proposal for reading it, that Stillington bishop of Bath might be responsible for its falsehood, was over-ruled and stifled by the king's immediate declaration of par-

¹⁵ Tous les justice in l'Exchequer chambre, par le commandement le roi, communerent pour le reversal del' bil et act, qui bastard les enfans le roi E. IV. et Eliz. sa femme. Et pristeront sa direction pour ceo, que le bill et l'act fuit cy, faux et slanderoux, q'ills ne voill reberse le matter ne l'effect de la matre mes tant solement que Ric. fist un faux et seditioux bill, a estre mis a luy, qui commence sic, pleaseth it your highness to consider these articles ensuing, &c. sans pl. rehersal. And this was the consideration of the justices, that they rehearse no more of the matter, that the matter might be and remain in perpetual oblivion for the falseness and shamefulnes of it. And if any part of the specialty of the matter, &c. Nota icy bien la policy. Nota enseint q'ill ne puissioient estre pris hors del record sans act del parliament pour l'indemnité et jeopardie d'eux q'avoient les records in lour gard.—Year Book, Hilary Term, 1 Hen. I.

¹⁶ Rot. Parl. 1 Hen. note 18.—But for the Year Book, it would be impossible, from the short recital of the preamble, to discover which of Richard's acts was reversed by this statute. Hume's mistake was unavoidable, as he overlooked the Year Book which Carte had quoted.—Carte's Hist. vol. ii. p. 324.

don¹⁷. Its falsehood would have merited and demanded detection, not concealment; and Stillington, whose evidence had formerly established the marriage, was, if perjured, an object of punishment, not of pardon. But why this precaution to efface all knowledge of Edward's pre-contract, the pretext of Richard's usurpation or accession? The suppression of the statute without inquiry into its truth, or explanation of its purport, demonstrates that the recital was dangerous, the fact incontestable; otherwise it is not conceivable that Henry would prohibit an investigation so necessary to vindicate his own accession and his queen's legitimacy, or pardon Stillington, whom he never forgave; and whose negotiations to procure the delivery of Henry, when an exile in Brittany, into Edward's hands, had rendered him so peculiarly obnoxious, that his destruction was effected afterwards, on the false pretext of his having participated in Lincoln's rebellion¹⁸. But that which Henry interdicted, the historian¹⁹, publishing under his tyrannical auspices, durst not venture to revive or investigate. His danger would have been considerable had he assigned as the means of Richard's accession, the bill of supplication engrossed in a statute erased from the record, the knowledge of which was intercepted, and the possession even of a copy prohibited as criminal; but his destruction would have been inevitable had he perpetuated a fact which the legislature, obsequious to the deliberations of the judges and the injunctions of Henry, had determined to consign to perpetual oblivion. In conceal-

¹⁷ Et meme le jour le bill fait leu en parlement chambre, mes fuit mouve par aucun deux que ser., bon ordre que ceituy que fist ceo faux bill reformera ceo, et disient que le evesque de B. (Stillington then bishop of Bath and Wells,) fist le bill, et les seigniors vouloient aver luy in le parliament chambre a aver luy respondre a ceo. Et le roy disoit, que il avoit luy pardonner et pour ceo il ne vouloit plus fait a luy: quid nota, constantia regis. Et quidam episcopi fuerunt contra ipsum.—Year Book, *ibid*.

¹⁸ (Judwin de Presul. Angl. v. Stillington.

¹⁹ Mure's History was written according to Grafton in 1508.



ing Edward's marriage with Eleanor Butler, More co-operated directly with Henry's intentions, and in creating a refutable, fictitious marriage with Elizabeth Lucy, endeavoured to discredit all traditionary remembrance of Richard's title.

I observed that the authorities separately were not satisfactory; collectively they are forcible, perhaps conclusive. Stillington's evidence has been rejected as that of an unprincipled priest, actuated either by servility to Richard, or revenge for the injuries sustained from Edward. We now discover, that at a period long previous to Richard's accession, Edward's mother was apprised of his marriage, and strove ineffectually to preserve him from bigamy; that her information originated either from the injured lady, or from Stillington, the priest who pronounced the ceremony, and in whose hands the contract was deposited; that Edward, whether to recover the contract, or to revenge and punish the disclosure of his secret, disgraced and imprisoned the bishop, nor released him till a severe fine was extorted²⁰; that the testimony of the latter, thus corroborated by Edward's resentment, was with other depositions produced and sustained as satisfactory in council; that it was afterwards recognized in full parliament²¹; and finally, that it was established incontrovertibly in the succeeding reign, by the tacit confession of Henry, who endeavoured to suppress the fact; and of those historians who, in order to disprove it, converted a

²⁰ L'evêque de Bath mit en avant a ce duc de Glocestre, qui ledit Edward, étant fort amoureux d'une dame d'Angleterre lui promit de l'épouser, pourveu qu'il coucha avec elle, ce que la consentit; et dit l'evêque *qu'il les avoit épousés* et n'y avoit que lui, et eux deux.—En plain parlement, le duc de Glocestre fit degrader les deux filles du dit Edward, et declara bastardes, sous couleur de quelque cas qu'il prouver par un evêque de Bath in Angleterre, qui autrefois avoit un grand credit avec Edward, et puis sa desapointa, et tient en prison, et le rançonne pour un somme d'argent; le quel evêque disoit qu'Edward avoit promis sei de mariage a une dame qu'il nommoit, et en avoit faits la promesse entre les mains du dit evêque.—Mem. de Commines, vol. i. pp. 437. 497.

²¹ En plein parlement. Commines.

regular marriage, solemnized according to the rites of the church, into a supposed precontract with a different woman; and attempted, on her fictitious confession, to obviate the existence of a previous marriage. More than that, we obtain the unequivocal testimony of Buckingham; who, on the death of his grandfather at the battle of Northampton, became, at the age of five, a ward of the crown, and according to feudal usage, was selected during his minority, as an advantageous husband for the queen's sister ²². During his early youth, while educated under the tuition of Edward, he was probably ignorant of lady Butler's marriage; but his subsequent confederacy with Richard against his wife's relations, can be attributed only to a keen resentment at the discovery of the injury his cousin had sustained. His interest during the administration of the Woodvilles, was equivalent to whatever he could expect with Richard; and unless some secret disgust be admitted, he had no temptation to desert his connections. No rational motive could actuate his conduct, but that conviction which he felt and expressed, and those passions which would prompt a proud and indignant spirit to renounce his interests, and relinquish every political connection, to sacrifice even the lives of his friends, in order to revenge the dishonour of his family. That conviction of which he assures us, when alone presumable as a motive, from the tenor of his conduct, is an indisputable testimony to the truth of the marriage. "Richard," he informs us, "brought in instruments, authentic doctors, authorities of the law, with depositions of divers witnesses, testifying Edward's children to be bastards; which depositions then I thought to be *as true as now I know them to be false and feigned* ²³."

²² Dugdale's Baronage.—Buckingham's education was committed by Edward to his sister the duchess of Exeter. *Id.*

²³ Grafton, Hall, in continuation of More.—See in the note above, the quotation from Commynes.

His belief is certain ; his subsequent incredulity may be regarded as a gratuitous concession to Morton, with whom, in concerting rebellion, a disavowal of his former conviction was a decency not to be omitted by historians. Whether he was afterwards disabused of error, or perverted by ambition, may be justly questioned, when his deliberate conviction had already adjudged the crown to Richard. “ When the said depositions were before us “ (lords spiritual and temporal, evidently the council) “ read, and diligently heard, Richard stood up, bare-headed, saying, “ Well, my lords, even as I and you “ would that my nephews should have no wrong, so I “ pray you do me nothing but right ; for these witnesses “ and sayings of famous doctors be true, for I am only “ the indubitable heir to Richard Plantagenet duke of “ York, adjudged to be the very heir to the crown of this “ realm by the authority of parliament.” Which things, “ (says Buckingham,) so by learned men for verity to us “ declared, caused me and others to take him for our “ lawful and undoubted prince and sovereign lord ²⁴.” I am unwilling unnecessarily to criminate human nature ; and as Richard’s conduct, previous to his appointment to the protectorate, may receive an explication on justifiable motives, I will not presume that, in the allegiance sworn to his nephew, he was intentionally perjured ; that he meditated schemes to support his pretensions, or was conscious even of his right to the crown. Were conjecture admissible in historical controversy, I would advance, as a reasonable supposition, that the duchess of York, a prudent woman, who had guarded the secret from the inconsiderate Clarence ²⁵, had concealed it with equal circumspection from Richard, nor disclosed it till his return from the north after Edward’s death, when his power as protector enabled him to vindicate his title, and exclude a

²⁴ Grafton, Hall, in continuation of More.

²⁵ See vol. ix. ch. 1. sect. 3.

crowned on the sixth of July, and thereafter began a progress through Gloucester, Warwick, and Coventry, northward to York; during which the young princes were secretly murdered. These events are recorded as passing in rapid succession, as connected together; the execution of Hastings with Richard's accession, the death of the princes with his coronation, and immediate removal from London. The public records correct these dates; the accession took place on the twenty-seventh of June, about a fortnight after the execution of Hastings, and the coronation was celebrated on the sixth of July, in the presence of almost every peer of the realm²⁷. The progress north commenced in the beginning of September, and till that period we are assured that the princes continued alive.

During this expedition, associations were formed, and various insurrections projected for their delivery; but when these were matured, and Buckingham proclaimed as the leader of the enterprise, a report prevailed that the princes had suffered a violent death. Such is the concise and barren account of contemporary writers, whose narrations rather attest the existence of the rumour than the truth of the murder, and to whom the manner in which it was perpetrated was then unknown. Succeeding historians have adopted that which, among different traditional stories, appeared the most probable to sir Thomas More. Richard, during his progress, presaging danger from the lives of his nephews, dispatched an attendant from Gloucester with orders to Brakenbury for their immediate death. Brakenbury resisted the dishonest pro-

detected and punished; a conspiracy in which Morton had participated with Hastings, and was therefore desirous to remove from view.

²⁷ Compare Grafton's list of the peers present at the coronation with the lords summoned to parliament in the reigns of Edward IV. and Henry VII., and it will appear that their number amounted to about thirty-six, of whom thirty-two attended the coronation, and in all probability concurred in presenting the bill of supplication. Henry's first parliament was not attended by half the number. See *Parliamentary Hist.*

posal, and Green the messenger returned with his refusal to Richard at Warwick, who complaining to a page that his commands were unexecuted, was directed to sit James Tyrell (then asleep with his brother in the next apartment) as an aspiring man, depressed by Ratcliffe, and likely to perpetrate whatever was enjoined. Tyrell accordingly was commissioned next morning to receive, for a single night, the keys and the command of the Tower from Brakenbury, and repairing to London, employed Dighton and Forest to stifle the princes while asleep at midnight. The bodies were buried at the bottom of the staircase, but were afterwards removed by the chaplain; and Tyrell, having performed his commission, hastened back to Richard, by whom he was knighted, much honoured, and highly rewarded.

It has been observed with truth, that these circumstances are improbable, and partly false; that Richard, before his departure from London, would have founded Brakenbury in devising the murder; nor would such a proposal be entrusted either to a letter, or to verbal credentials; that Richard would not have communicated his disappointment so freely; nor was Tyrell, already knighted and master of the horse, in a situation to be either depressed by Ratcliffe, or recommended to the king's notice by a nameless page; and finally, that Brakenbury on his refusal would not have been superseded for the palpable purpose of murder, nor again entrusted with the command of the Tower ²⁸.

But the story is not destitute of evidence, the confession of the assassins, to be noticed in the sequel, and the accidental discovery, in the last century, of bones correspondent in size to those of the princes, buried in the Tower, under the rubbish of a ruinous staircase. They were found, it is said, in a chest or coffin at the depth of

²⁸ Walpole's Hist. Doubts, p. 53.

ten feet, in rebuilding a staircase conducting from the king's lodgings to the chapel in the White Tower, and were deposited as the remains of the princes, by Charles II. in Westminster Abbey²⁹. Their identity has been inferred from their size and irregular interment, indicating, as the ground was not consecrated, a secret murder; from the coincidence of the place with historical description, and from the presumption that no children unconnected with the crown were exposed in the Tower to a violent death³⁰. To me the inference appeared at first to be strong and conclusive; but there are difficulties not to be surmounted or obviated:—1. The coincidence of place is extremely doubtful. The princes, according to a tradition preserved in the Tower, were lodged in a building near the water-gate, and Tyrell, as we are informed, remained till the murder was finished, at the bottom of the staircase, beneath which he interred their bodies³¹. They were buried therefore under the stairs of their lodging; but Henry, to whom the assassins disclosed the place, sought ineffectually to discover the bodies, and concluded at last that the chaplain, who was then dead, had removed them elsewhere. Their bodies therefore must have been transferred from the staircase of their lodging, to that of the chapel; and those who were present at the discovery and inspected the bones, admitted that they were found, not in the place where Tyrell had deposited, but where the priest had removed, them³². That place was un-

²⁹ Sandford's Genealog. Hist.

³⁰ Hume's Hist. vol. iii. p. 459, note M.

³¹ Bacon, p. 608. The place where the princes were confined, has been denominated the Bloody Tower.

³² See Sandford's Genealogical History, where, on the authority of the king's surgeon, who was present at the discovery, the place where the bones were found, is explicitly marked, and admitted to be different from the place where Tyrell interred them. Whoever examines the situation of the chapel, and its distance from the staircase, still shewn in the Bloody Tower, must be convinced that the bones were not discovered where Tyrell was said to have buried the bodies.

known,

known, its coincidence with the situation of the bodies is conjectural, nor is it probable that a staircase should be twice selected to conceal their remains; but it is certain that the chaplain, when directed by Richard to remove their bodies to a place less unsuitable to the sons of a king, would have given them a regular interment in consecrated ground.—2. The identity of the bones is uncertain. The Tower was both a palace and a state prison, the receptacle of Lollards, heretics, and criminals, within which those who died by disease or violence were always buried: the discovery therefore of bones is neither surprising nor, perhaps, uncommon; but we must guard against the extreme credulity perceptible in the officers, who, persuaded that the princes were secretly interred in the Tower, appropriated every skeleton to them. Bones found at a former period in a deserted turret were regarded as the remains of one of the princes; though some entertained a ludicrous suspicion, that they belonged to an old ape who had clambered thither and perished³³. As to the bones in question, we are merely informed that their size corresponded with the age of the princes; and without assurance of the time at which, from the state of the bones, they were probably interred, we are required to believe, that during a period of two centuries they remained unconsumed, and the chest in which they were deposited entire. We know not whether the situation indicated a secret murder by an irregular interment in unconsecrated ground; they were buried beneath the staircase of a consecrated chapel, in ground which, previous to the erection of the staircase, had perhaps been consecrated as a place of interment. They were buried ten feet beneath the surface, a depth to which the murderers had no leisure, the priest no occasion, to penetrate; his business was to inter them decently, not to conceal

³³ Buck, p. 552.

them ; and on the supposition of their removal to consecrated ground, who can distinguish their remains from others ? But the depth of a grave on the outside of a chapel, indicates people that had died of the pestilence, and were buried precipitately in the same coffin without the church, and at such a distance from the surface, as to prevent the danger or the dread of contagion. I know not that children of royal blood were alone exposed in the Tower to a violent death ; but the discovery of a skeleton in the ruins of the Bastile, would have been no proof that the man in the iron mask was assassinated ³⁴.

There is another objection to More's relation, if established, absolutely preclusive of the fact. A singular, and, for Richard's memory, a providential concurrence of circumstances, enables us to ascertain the duration, and to trace the particular stages, of that progress, in the course of which the supposed destruction of his nephews was planned and accomplished. He was at Westminster on Sunday the thirty-first of August, where he ratified a league with the king of Castile, and at York on the seventh of September, the day preceding his second coronation ³⁵. Windsor, Oxford, and Gloucester, are specified as the three first stages of his journey ; and he seems to have carried his queen to Windsor, with the Spanish ambassadors, on Monday the first of September, and leaving them there, to have proceeded on Tuesday to Oxford, where, at the requisition of the university, he released Morton, it is said, from the Tower. At Woodstock, which he probably reached that evening, the popular clamour induced him to disavow an extensive circuit, an-

³⁴ When the identity of place is removed, it is obvious that the presumption arising from the size of the bones is slight in itself, and obviated both by the discovery of similar bones at a former period, and the certainty that private murders were not uncommon, and interments frequent and customary in the Tower. Arthur lord Lisle, the brother of these princes, was buried, with many others, in the Tower.

³⁵ Rymer, vol. xii.

nexed by his brother to Whichwood forest³⁶; and at Gloucester, whither he arrived on the morrow, he honoured his ducal city by the creation or appointment of a mayor and sheriffs. These circumstances postpone his arrival in Gloucester till Wednesday the third, and he must have resumed his journey on Thursday, in order to accomplish it within the period limited. Passing through Worcester, he was rejoined at Warwick on Thursday by the queen and the Spanish ambassadors from Windsor; and proceeding through Coventry and Leicester, he arrived on Friday at Nottingham, on Saturday at Pontefract, and on Sunday at York. With the train and impediments of a court, which limited the daily progress to fifty miles, the time allotted, of which the two first days were expended necessarily at Windsor and Oxford, was barely sufficient for performing the journey. Green then, if dispatched from Gloucester, or on the road thither, had no time to return to London on Wednesday, execute his commission to Brakenbury, and rejoin Richard on Thursday at Warwick; a journey upwards of two hundred miles, before the establishment of regular posts. Tyrell, commissioned to supersede Brakenbury, departed early on Friday from Warwick; yet we are assured that, returning after the execution of his orders, he overtook

³⁶ Rous, p. 216. Chr. Croyl. More. The different stages of the progress are to be discovered by an inspection of these writers; the duration of it is ascertained by Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xii. There is a letter, however, in Drake's *Eboracum*, from John Kendal, Richard's secretary, to the mayor of York, dated at Nottingham the 23d of August, (without any year,) informing the mayor, that the court had been worshipfully received throughout the progress, and desiring pageants to be prepared for their reception at York, p. 117. *Ex lib. Chart. in Cust. Com. Ebor.* Were the date certain, the letter could not invalidate the authority of the records published by Rymer; but it was written undoubtedly in the ensuing year, and dated, as I suspect, on the 23d of September, on which day Richard was certainly at Nottingham, *Rym. vol. xii.* Drake apprehending that it was written previous to the coronation in the former year, and knowing that the progress was over, and that Richard was not at Nottingham on the 23d of September of that year, altered, as I imagine, the date to August.

the king previous to his arrival on Sunday at York. The wardrobe roll, in which were inserted as an article of expenditure, robes provided for Edward, affords no presumption, as was once expected, that the young prince walked in procession at his uncle's coronation. But its information is otherwise material, that previous to the progress northward, sir James Tyrell, knighted during the former reign, was master of the horse, and in that capacity received considerable deliveries from the wardrobe, to be employed in the approaching coronation at York³⁷. The presumption thence arising, of his attendance at the coronation, is confirmed by More's narrative of his hastening after the murder of Richard, who received him with marked approbation and honour, circulated a report of the death of his nephews, and *then* prosecuted his journey to York. Tyrell, therefore, was present, and officiated at the coronation as master of the horse. The dates are insurmountable, authenticated by public instruments; they reduce this strange transaction to three days; and we are required to believe, that Tyrell, who, dispatched from Warwick on Friday, could not arrive at the Tower till Saturday, nor perpetrate the murder till midnight, departed from London on Sunday morning, and rejoined the king on the road, previous to his arrival that evening at York. We are required to believe, that two consecutive journeys of five hundred miles were performed by Green and Tyrell in four days, and these with the interruption of two nights, and the day preparatory and previous to the murder. Such journeys, with our modern roads and relays of horses, may be practicable at present; but when I review the particulars, and consider the period, I conclude without hesitation, that the fact related by More is im-

³⁷ See Mill's account of wardrobe roll in the *Archeologia*, vol. i. from which it appears that the wardrobe-keeper had taken the opportunity of charging, in the disbursements for Richard's coronation, the robes formerly provided for the lord Edward. See also *Hist. Doubts*, p. 65.

possible,

possible. He knew not, it is evident, that the progress was strictly limited to seven days; but finding the month of August unoccupied, appropriated that period to Richard's progress and sir James Tyrell's adventures; prolonged the stay of the former at Gloucester, Warwick, and other cities, till the latter rejoined him, and about the end of August, conducted them both to York, before the departure of either from London. The time assumed was requisite for the various transactions recorded; restricted to the short space of a week, it demonstrates that these are fictitious; that Richard could not be overtaken on Thursday at Warwick, by a messenger sent on Wednesday from Gloucester, to the Tower of London; and that Tyrell, dispatched thither on Friday, and employed on Saturday in selecting instruments, removing the keepers, and making other arrangements preparatory to the murder, could not possibly perpetrate the fact, rejoin Richard, and reach York, in the space of a day³⁸.

The murder, however, is still possible, as the credit of contemporary writers remains unimpaired; and of these, as the most credulous and prejudiced, Rous shall be first examined, and dismissed for ever: "Gloucester obtained, "or rather invented, the title of Protector, to promote "himself, and disinherit king Edward, who, with, his "brother, was imprisoned so closely, that the particular death by which they were martyred (*qua "morte martyrizati sunt*) was known to few. The "throne of the murdered kings was then usurped "by their protector, Richard the tyrant, who had "remained two years in his mother's womb, and at "Fotheringay, on the feast of eleven thousand virgins, "was born with long hair, and his teeth complete: at "his nativity the Scorpion was ascendant, a sign in the

³⁸ Carte was the first that discovered this argument; but a typographical error in the dates render it, as explained in his history, absolutely unintelligible. Hist. vol. xi. p. 819.

"house of Mars; and as the Scorpion's aspect is bland
 "and *poising*, its sting mortal, such was Richard, who
 "received his master Edward with kisses and *fawning*
 "caresses, and in three months, murdered him and his
 "brother, poisoned his own wife, and what was most de-
 "testable both to God and the English nation, slew the
 "sanctified Henry VI.*" The historian who deduces
 Richard's crimes from a calculation of his nativity, may
 attest the popular belief and rumour; but his private in-
 formation must rest, where he has placed it, on the autho-
 rity of the stars.

The princes, according to Fabian, were, on Richard's
 accession, "put under sure keeping in the Tower, in
 "such wise as they never came abroad;" and afterwards
 "the common fame ran, that king Richard had put them
 "into secret dens; for the which and other causes had
 "within the breast of the duke of Buckingham, the said
 "duke conspired against him." "Remanserunt Ed-
 "wardi filii sub certa deposita custodia infra turrim, pro
 "quorum liberatione, excepterunt populi australes et oc-
 "cidentales plurimum fabulantes, inire coetus et
 "conventiones, maximeque hic qui per franchiseas et
 "sancturias digni sunt. Cumque tandem populus ad
 "audientiam considerationes iniret, factis publicis pro-
 "clamamentis, quod rex Buckinghami facti poenitens
 "captivum in hac re principalis existeret, *vulgatum est*
 "*quod Edwardi filii, qui per secreti interitus ignora-*
 "*rent, decesserint in pace.*" Such is the authentic in-
 formation derived from contemporaries, expressive only of
 the prevailing opinion: yet of an opinion supposed to be
 sustained by the desperate conviction of Buckingham,
 the voice of the multitudes, and the positive testimony of
 those friends who were the Liberators, and promoted
 Richard to the throne of England.

* Rous. p. 274

* Page 35—8.

Perhaps there is too much refinement in supposing, that for different purposes, a similar report was propagated both by Richard and Buckingham; by Richard, to persuade the people that the *death* of his nephews rendered him indisputably their sovereign; by Buckingham, to convince them that the *murder* of the princes required and justified *his* resistance, the degradation of the tyrant, and the elevation of a new line to the throne. We are informed by More, that Richard circulated the first report of the death of his nephews, an improbable circumstance on the supposition of their murder; but we are assured by the monk of Croyland, that the rumour prevailed not, till the insurgents were prepared for revolt, not till Buckingham was proclaimed their leader ⁴¹. Such an opportune report, diverting their attention from the young princes whom they had confederated to rescue, to the exiled Richmond, generates a suspicion that it was disseminated purposely by Buckingham and Morton, and afterwards preposterously attributed to Richard. Their motives hitherto have never been examined. Buckingham's family had been Lancastrians; his father perished at the battle of St. Albans, his grandfather at that of Northampton; and Morton, a Lancastrian also, had been faithful to Henry VI. in his lowest fortune. Buckingham's defection has been variously ascribed to resentment or penitence; resentment at the refusal of deserved rewards, and repentance of his treachery to Edward's children. Every reward that could ensure a friend, or attach a subject, had been accumulated on him; and it is not credible that a repentant humour would induce him, for Richmond's benefit, to endanger himself, or dissolve the government he had recently constructed. A political character is seldom accessible to penitence, unless it be profitable. Resentment at Edward's offspring, had con-

⁴¹ *Supra*.

nessed him with Richard; from whom, as no cause of quarrel existed, ambition alone could detach him afterwards. His motives may be discovered from his conversations with Morton, an artful intermixture of truth and falsehood⁴⁵. Morton, a prisoner at Brecknock, remarking Buckingham's secret disaffection, proposed that he should dethrone the tyrant Richard; and if averse to the cares and disquiet of a crown, bestow it on the princess Elizabeth, or reinstate the royal lineage of Lancaster. Buckingham replied, that at Gloucester, when informed of the murder of the princes, (a murder not then perpetrated,) he forsook the court with detestation and horror; and ruminating during his journey on the destruction of the tyrant, recollected for the first time that himself, the descendant and representative of John of Gaunt, possessed an indubitable title to the crown. An interview with Margaret countess of Richmond, destroyed these visions, by reminding him that they were sprung from two brothers, dukes of Somerset, and lineal descendants of John of Gaunt; but that as her father was the elder brother, her son's was therefore the preferable title. But he could not be ignorant that the Beauforts, dukes of Somerset, though descended from John of Gaunt, were the produce of an adulterous connection with Catherine Swinford; and when legitimated by parliament, were excluded expressly from succession to the crown. He must have remembered his own descent from Anne, daughter and heiress of Thomas of Woodstock, son of Edward III., and younger brother of Edmund of Langley and John of Gaunt, progenitors of the York and Lancastrian families; and recollected (for he bore the arms of Thomas of Woodstock) that such descent afforded a title inferior only to Richard's,

⁴⁵ See More, and Hall and Grafton's continuation of this curious conversation; the particulars of which, as they were derived from Morton himself, serve to elucidate much of the obscurity attending Richard's accession.

and

and superior to any pretensions of his or Richmond's, as the spurious descendants of John of Gaunt⁴³. The fact is, that Richmond never avowed his pretensions, till the field of Bosworth decided his right. Individually his power was unequal to a contest with Buckingham, whose Lancastrian title, however defective, was sufficient to conciliate the Lancastrian interest; and whose ambition, had his rebellion prospered, would have induced him assuredly to retain and wear, not to resign to Richmond, the crown he had conquered; and to fortify his doubtful title, by an union with the Yorkists, the intermarriage of his son with the princess Elizabeth. Whatever were the secret motives of Morton and others, his propinquity to the crown, and the probable issue of his conduct if successful, indicates an ambition aspiring to royalty, and productive of rebellions, in which repentance had no share. The murder therefore of the young princes is not authenticated by his revolt, since we cannot conclude from his conduct, that his motive was to avenge their death. On the contrary, a report propagated on the eve of a general insurrection, excites a suspicion that it was devised to render the insurrection popular, to justify the proposed degradation of Richard, and the transference of the crown to a different family.

But the report is confirmed by contemporary evidence, that of the chief partisans of York; who, persuaded of the murder, concurred with the Lancastrians in supporting Richmond, and promoting the union of the rival roses⁴⁴. The argument is specious, not satisfactory; for those enumerated as the principal Yorkists, were either Lancastrians, or connected by birth or affinity with Bucking-

⁴³ Sanford's Geneal. Hist. Dugdale's Baronage.

⁴⁴ Hume's Hist. vol. iii. p. 456. A strong proof of Hume's inattention to the *minutiae* of history is, that those whom he enumerates as the principal Yorkists were all Lancastrians, the Stanleys excepted.

ham and Richmond. The Mortneys were Lancastrians, and steadfast adherents of Henry 4th. The earl of Devon was enriched by the forfeiture of the duke of York; his son was attainted by Edward, and afterwards slain, fighting for the Lancastrians, at the battle of Tewksbury; and his family supported the insurrection of Buckingham. The Talbots were Lancastrians, and obtained their share in the rich confiscations of the duke of York; the earl of Shrewsbury and Christopher his brother fell at Northampton; and sir Gilbert Talbot, a surviving brother, brought a large accession of strength to the standard of Richmond. The Stanleys were properly Yorkists; but lord Stanley's marriage with Richmond's mother, which rendered his fidelity suspicious, occasioned his subsequent defection from Richard. The Blounts were Yorkists; but lord Mountjoy and sir James 45 his brother, were connected both with Buckingham and Richmond; their mother was the dowager duchess of Buckingham; Henry Stafford their uterine brother was the countess of Richmond's second husband; and the execution of Buckingham their nephew, attached them necessarily to Richmond's interest. If the Berkleys were Yorkists, we discover in their accession to Buckingham's conspiracy, their dissatisfaction at the recent elevation of the Howards, descended with them from the daughters of Thomas first duke of Norfolk, and earl marshal of England; but as their mother was the eldest daughter, the revival of these honours in the Howard family was probably resented as injurious to theirs 46. Bouchier's and Hungerford's fathers

45 Who betrayed the castle of Hams to Richmond.

46 The title of Norfolk had been bestowed before-hand by Edward on his second son Richard duke of York, whom he betrothed and intended to marry to the infant daughter and heiress of Mowbrey, the last duke. It was suggested, I find, by a learned prelate, in his correspondence with the late Dr. Henry, that Richard would not have offered, nor would Howard have accepted, the title, unless it was vacant; and as there was no forfeiture, there is reason to presume that the

fathers were Lancastrians; Willoughby, Cheney, Dawbeny, Arundel, and others, were either soldiers of desperate fortune, or private gentlemen whose political connections no researches can now discover. Sir Thomas St. Leger is marked as a partisan of the house of York, on account of his marriage with the duchess of Exeter, Richard's sister; but the duchess died in the former reign; and as her first husband was a devoted Lancastrian, we have no assurance that the second was a Yorkist. The conspiracy for which he suffered was concerted to rescue and restore the princes, and its formation preceded the report of their death⁴⁷. Those partisans, whose desertion of Richard can be rendered a presumptive attestation of the murder, are therefore reduced to the Grays and Woodvilles, the queen's relations; and as these were originally Lancastrian families, I cannot discover that Richmond's accession was effected, as historians have imagined, by a previous coalition with the principal Yorkists⁴⁸.

The queen's friends, whose attachment to the house of York depended solely on their alliance with Edward, projected, for the restitution of his children, those insurrections to which Buckingham, Morton, and the Lancastrians acceded. The report of the murder dissolving their recent connection with the Yorkists, renewed their former attachment to Lancaster; and I must conclude

the title was vacated by the duke of York's death. The argument is the less conclusive, as Howard's creation took place on the 28th June 1483, when the duke of York was certainly not understood to be dead. The interests of a boy might have been disregarded, or the revival of the title in his person considered as irregular, injurious to the claims of the Howards, descendants of the first duke. But the duke of York, as far as history can ascertain, was certainly alive on the 8th of September following.

⁴⁷ See Dugdale's Baronage, under the names of the respective families enumerated in the text.

⁴⁸ In the historians of the period there is no trace of such a previous union of the Lancastrians and Yorkists,

that

that they acted on a firm persuasion and belief of the fact, when they transferred their interest gratuitously to Richmond, concurred in his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, and for his benefit persisted in those insurrections, that were first concerted to rescue Edward V. from prison. Their evidence resolves however into mere opinion, their belief of a dark and secret transaction, to the truth of which they had no certain access: it is diminished by the frequent fluctuations, and destroyed by the apparent contradiction, of their subsequent conduct. The queen, on assurance of safety, forsook the sanctuary, and resorted with her daughter to Richard's court: his proposals for marriage proved so acceptable to the princess Elizabeth, that she seems to have languished with impatience for the nuptials⁴⁰; and the marquis of Dorset endeavoured, by the queen his mother's directions, to escape from Richmond, by whom he was intercepted, and during the subsequent invasion, detained prisoner at Paris. Either their former persuasion was much altered, or the mother had forgotten or pardoned the murderer of her sons, and the daughter was desirous of embracing a husband, polluted with the recent blood of her brothers. Adopting their conduct as the rule of evidence, we must conclude from Buckingham's insurrection, when their interest was certainly exerted for Richmond, that they were actuated then by the report of the murder, and their own internal conviction of its truth; but we must also conclude from the same rule, that Richard was afterwards enabled to establish his innocence, to convince the queen that her children survived, or at least that their death was casual, not accelerated by his interference. If he was serious in his proposals to marry Elizabeth, his intention was not to strengthen his title, (her illegitimacy

⁴⁰ Buck quotes a letter of hers to the duke of Norfolk, preserved in the earl of Arundel's library, and expressive of extreme impatience for the marriage.

precluded

precluded that,) but to frustrate an hostile connection with Richmond.

The circumstances now ascertained are, the existence of the princes on the eighth of September, a conspiracy for their restoration, to which Buckingham and the principal Lancastrians acceded, a report of their murder, and the concurrence and temporary resolution of their kindred to transfer the succession to a different family. Two contradictory conclusions are deducible: 1. That Richard, to counteract the object of an alarming conspiracy, extinguished the male issue of Edward his brother: 2. That the report of the murder, originating with Buckingham and Morton and the chief Lancastrians, was calculated to deceive, to conciliate the insurgents to their private measures; and that it afterwards passed uncontradicted by Richard, as the probable means of uniting the divided adherents of York. Were the evidence to terminate here, the last conclusion would be properly rejected; the disappearance of the princes, succeeded by a report and belief of their murder, would constitute a satisfactory proof that their death was violent. But the evidence extends to a subsequent period; and as the re-appearance of one of the princes would render the murder of his brother extremely improbable, the conclusion must be suspended till we ascertain the character of him who, personating the duke of York, has in history been hitherto denominated Perkin Warbeck.

IV. It is singular, and perhaps peculiar to Henry's fortune, that his success was promoted, and his acquisition of the crown effected, by a persuasion of the death or murder of the young princes; and that his reign was disquieted afterwards, by the prevailing opinion of their having either escaped the cruelty, or survived by the clemency, of their unfortunate uncle. Cardinal Bourchier expressed his apprehension of the queen's intention to
remove

remove the youngest beyond the realm; and early in Richard's reign a conspiracy for conveying them both abroad was detected and punished ⁵⁰. Another design for the escape of one of their sisters, in disguise, from sanctuary, was discovered during the progress to York ⁵¹; and scarcely was Henry established on his throne, when a report was diffused, and generally credited, that the sons of Edward IV. had been conveyed secretly away, and were still alive, concealed by their obscurity in some distant region ⁵². Whether the rumour was cœval with Henry's reign, or propagated that Lambert Simnel might personate the duke of York, the character assumed by that juvenile impostor was determined by a subsequent report of Warwick's murder, not, as historians have misconceived, of his escape from the Tower. Surmises of secret violence to state prisoners, were not peculiar to Richard's reign; and but for Lambert's imposture, that rendered the public exhibition of Warwick necessary, *his* death or existence might have remained as mysterious at present as that of his unfortunate cousins, concerning whom reports are so various, and whose fate historians are so solicitous to discover ⁵³.

On

⁵⁰ More. Stowe, Ric. III.

⁵¹ Chron. Croyl.

⁵² "The deaths and final fortunes of the two young princes have nevertheless so far come in question, that some remained long in doubt whether they were in Richard's days destroyed or no." More. "—In vulgus fama valeret, filios Edwardi regis, aliquo terrarum secreto migrasse, atque ibi superstites esse." Pol. Virg. p. 569.—"Neither wanted there even at this time" (Henry's accession) "secret rumours and whisperings, which afterwards gathered strength, and turned to great trouble, that the two young sons of king Edward IV. or one of them, (which were said to be destroyed in the Tower,) were not indeed murdered, but were conveyed secretly away, and were yet living.—And all this time it was still whispered every where that at least one of the children was living." Bacon, p. 4. See Hall.

⁵³ "Fama valeret Edwardum Varvici comitem, vel necatum, vel brevi necandum. Haud ita multo post, fama passim dissipavit in carcere interisse." Pol. Virg. p. 69.—This material fact, perverted by Hall and Grafton, from their tenderness to Henry, has strangely escaped



On the appearance of Lambert, when the earl of Lincoln departed to solicit assistance from the duchess of Burgundy, Henry, after much deliberation in council, seized the queen-dowager's person, confiscated her estates, and confined her for life in a solitary cloister. The pretext was, her having departed from sanctuary, and entrusted her daughter to Richard's care; a false pretext, adopted obviously to conceal a more secret, and in Henry's eyes a more criminal, transaction. Either she connived with Lincoln in Lambert's imposture, or possessed some dangerous political secret, dangerous to the future stability of Henry's government; and when the preceding report of her son's escape is combined with the subsequent appearance of Warbeck, that she was imprisoned in consequence of such a report; estranged from all correspondence with the world, to prevent her testimony in the event of her son's existence from transpiring; stripped of her wealth, to intercept any secret resources from him; is a conclusion more probable than this, that, convinced of the death of her sons, yet dissatisfied with Henry, she engaged in a conspiracy, and promoted an imposture, for the purpose of transferring the crown from the queen her daughter, and prince Arthur her grandson, to Lincoln, Richard's nephew, formerly declared his presumptive heir. Let historians, who ascribe such conduct to habitual intrigue and the desire of power, beware of indulging in wanton conjectures. If she had no son to succeed to the throne, she had no power to expect from the promotion of Richard's heir, or Warwick, Clarence's issue, not less hateful to her than Lincoln. The report then

escaped the notice of our recent historians, who have all supposed the imposture founded on the report of Warwick's escape; such imposture was superfluous if the escape was true, and liable to immediate detection if his person remained in Henry's custody. We see that Henry was defamed in much the same manner as Richard; but who will assure me that, had Warwick never been exhibited, his execution would have been public, or that his murder would not have been attributed to Richard?

that occasioned her imprisonment, demonstrates the probability, as it discloses Henry's apprehensions, that one at least of her sons existed; and as it was preceded by repeated attempts for their rescue, it is to be verified or refuted by an investigation of Perkin Warbeck's pretensions and character.

Historical notices concerning this personage, are slight and unsatisfactory, transmitted either by Henry, or by writers who discover a rancorous prejudice against his rival. Warbeck's first appearance was in Ireland, whence he was invited by ambassadors to France; and on the peace of Estaples, he repaired to Flanders, claimed, it is said, and obtained the protection of the duchess of Burgundy, was received as her nephew the duke of York, the descendant of Edward IV. her brother. The imposture originated, as is generally asserted, in her inveterate hatred of the Lancastrian party; for the depression of which, she circulated rumours of her nephew's escape from the tyranny of Richard her brother; and after a search for years, discovered a youth of obscure birth, qualified to personate the youngest of the princes, of the same age, handsome and elegant in his person and appearance, with a crafty head and bewitching address, so subtle and cunning, that it was impossible in conversation to detect his falsehood; such a wanderer, that it was difficult to trace his origin, or discover his adventures; an expert linguist, to whom the English was familiar as his vernacular language; a Jew by birth, yet so similar in every feature to him whom he personated, that the resemblance could only be solved by the supposition of his being an illegitimate descendant from the same father. This *mercurial*, the duchess secretly retained at court, instructed him in her cabinet to assume the demeanor and state of a prince, without departing from a modest sense of his own misfortunes; informed him of every circumstance relative to the character he was intended to personate; described minutely

minutely the persons and features of the king and queen his pretended parents, their son prince Edward, their five daughters, and those who had formerly attended the duke of York; devised a *smooth and likely tale* of his brother's death, and his own escape; and concluded her instructions by teaching him how to evade, when interrogated, such captious questions as might tend to detection. When properly tutored, and inspired by the duchess with unbounded ambition, he was sent with an English lady⁵⁴ to Portugal, and afterwards emerged from obscurity in Ireland, assumed the character of the duke of York, and attracted the notice, and acquired the esteem and friendship, of different princes. At Paris, an hundred English gentlemen, who resorted to him, were convinced of his birth, and embraced his interest; his behaviour was princely, and supported uniformly with such propriety, that all ranks, persuaded of his title, regarded him as Richard duke of York: the counterfeited was practised so long, that it became habitual: it deceived himself; from a liar, he became a believer, and was almost converted into the identical character which he was employed to exhibit⁵⁵. Of this relation, our author justly observes, that it is too laboured and artificial to be strictly true; that particulars extremely improbable, and of a nature too secret for the historian to discover, are asserted positively without proof; and that it is "more like a tale contrived to solve appearances, than like genuine history, supported by proper evidence"⁵⁶.

Its purport is to discredit the public declarations of an aunt, on whose testimony the existence and identity of her nephew would otherwise be established; and its credit therefore depends on the character and probable motives

⁵⁴ Lady Brampton; yet her evidence was never produced.

⁵⁵ Bacon, p. 607. *Credunt simul quæ fingunt*, had belonged, I thought, to religious impostors.

⁵⁶ *Supra*, ch. i. sect. 1.

of the dukes of Burgundy, whether her character can warrant the imputation, and what motives could suggest the contrivance of so vile an imposture. Margaret was the sister of Richard, the widow of Charles the Hardy, the tutelage of whose grandchildren, the Flemings, ever jealous of their liberties, transferred, on the death of his daughter, (the offspring of a former marriage,) from Maximilian their father, to Margaret's care. Her execution of this maternal trust, as described by an historian partial to Henry, will explain her character. "*Hos* "*liberos materno amplexa amore, mira charitate, nutrie-* "*bat, accipiebat, fovebat, studiose que rebus domesticis* "*operam tribuebat, quæ ejusmodi officiis magnam apud* "*Flandres sibi auctoritatem compararet*." Such affectionate and prudent conduct indicates those mild and beneficent virtues, that conciliated the esteem and respect of the untractable Flemings, not that character addicted to intrigue and prone to mischief, which might be suspected of dangerous and dark machinations. An imputation so inconsistent with her general character, derives no presumption from her former conduct. Lambert Simnel she never acknowledged, nor supported otherwise than by furnishing Lincoln her nephew, once the presumptive heir of the English crown, with troops to render his pretensions effectual. Whatever was the secret object of that insurrection, the imposture was certainly concerted without her participation; her assistance was solicited by Lincoln alone, and granted, on every hypothesis, to support a nephew⁵⁷, not Lambert, a boy removeable at Lincoln's pleasure. But on Warbeck's appearance,

⁵⁷ Polydore Virgil, p. 570.

⁵⁸ Either Lincoln, or Richard duke of York, (Warwick then was supposed to be murdered,) but most probably the latter. Lincoln, connected with the Plantagenets by the female line, found, when he employed Lambert to personate Warwick, that he could not claim in his own person; and the pageant could have been removed afterwards with a bad grace, unless by the superior right of the duke of York.

when

when Lincoln had perished, and Warwick's life was at Henry's disposal, there was no prince of the house of York whose accession such an imposture could promote. Warbeck's reward, in the event of his success, was the crown of England; and on the supposition of his imposture, Margaret, for the purpose of supplanting Henry, must have selected a vagabond of a detested race, to personate the heir, and maintain the honour, of her illustrious family, to acquire, and transmit to his own descendants, that crown which, in her opinion, was the exclusive patrimony of the house of York. Whatever were her prejudices or antipathy to Henry, the conduct imputed to her involves "such perverseness, wickedness, and malice, "as is scarcely credible";" more than that, its absurdity would have defeated her own intentions. She hated Henry, because he depressed her family, and communicated no share of his splendor or power to her niece, his wife. Therefore she labours, by every detestable artifice, to transfer the crown from her own family, from her niece the descendant of the house of York, to the obscure son of a converted Jew. Conclusions so preposterous must be rejected, and Margaret's acknowledgment received as evidence of an unsuspicious nature, confirming the preceding report of her nephew's existence, and attesting his identity with Perkin Warbeck.

There is some difficulty, perhaps, on the disappearance of the duke of York at the age of nine, his re-appearance at manhood, and obscurity during the intermediate period. The difficulty is thus obviated: He was either conveyed from the Tower by the intervention of some of his mother's friends, or committed by Richard to the care of Margaret, to be educated abroad, in a manner correspondent to the mediocrity of his future fortune. On these suppositions, Margaret's court was the last place to which he could have fled for refuge while Richard was

⁵⁹ *Supra*, ch. i. sec. 1.

alive, or where he could have obtained public protection when Richard was dead. Flanders then was a scene of distraction; its cities had revolted against Maximilian; the inhabitants were dependent on England for a lucrative commerce; and had Margaret produced her nephew in public, no protection could have been obtained from a feeble government, or expected from a people averse to every altercation, that might terminate in an interruption of their trade with England. The facility with which Henry, by a short suspension of commerce, procured the expulsion of Warbeck from Flanders, affords a satisfactory reason for his obscurity during his early youth, if entrusted by Richard or others to Margaret's care. If conveyed abroad, as his manifesto seems to insinuate, by his mother's assistance, he must have effected his escape during Richard's life, or after his death at the battle of Bosworth, when Brackenbury the lieutenant was slain, and before Willoughby with the unfortunate Warwick had arrived at the Tower. On the first supposition, a boy, entrusted probably to some faithful domestic, and too young to be proposed as a popular leader, had no friendly potentate to receive him on the Continent. Margaret of Burgundy might have restored him to Richard her brother; the courts of France and Brittany were pre-occupied by Richmond, who, as a Lancastrian, was hostile to every male of the house of York, and whose influence was such, that he detained the marquis of Dorset at Paris in an honourable custody⁶⁰. Silence and concealment were therefore necessary; but if on the other, and to me the more probable, supposition, his escape was effected after his uncle's death, and during the flight or confusion of those officers to whom the Tower was entrusted, concealment and silence were still more requisite. His mother was in London, and must have been sensible, that when Henry, at the head of a victorious army, assumed the

⁶⁰ Hall, p. 26.

crown, there was no resource but immediate flight, no protection but profound obscurity, to preserve her son from perpetual confinement. * Assuredly, had Henry, who disregarded his sister's pretensions, secured his person, Warwick's portion must have been his; and as they were involved in the same ignominious death, they must have shared for life in the same oblivious gloom of a dungeon. Whatever was the fate of his elder brother, whether he died in confinement, or escaped to the Continent, I will not presume that he perished by Richard's orders, when I find the existence of the youngest attested by the common report of the age, the public unsuspicious declarations of his aunt, and Henry's severity, otherwise unaccountable, to the queen his mother.

It was incumbent on Henry, if desirous to vindicate his own title, to discredit the duchess of Burgundy's evidence, and to ascertain in the most unequivocal manner, the supposed murder of the duke of York, and the pretended origin of Perkin Warbeck. Either would have sufficed to detect the imposture; but Warbeck's identity with the duke of York is, by a strange fatality, best authenticated by Henry's narrative of the obscure birth of the one, and his measures to discover the murder of the other. There were three circumstances in Warbeck's history, for which a particular explanation was requisite, — a visible and strong resemblance of the duke of York, a perfect knowledge of the English language, and a plan projected by a foreign youth for dethroning a monarch, by personating a prince who had perished in his childhood. But of these the narrative adopted by historians, and the confession attributed to Warbeck, contain different contradictory solutions.

1. In the reign of Edward IV. a Flemish Jew, recently converted to the Christian persuasion, resided during a season in London, where his wife was delivered of a son, to whom, at his baptism, the king condescended to act as

sponsor⁶¹. Such a godson as Perkin, for a monarch whose name was Edward, is alone ridiculous; but the tale is calculated to explain that resemblance which could not be contested, by the surmise of a previous intrigue between Edward and Warbeck's mother. The tale, if true, was susceptible of proof; and as Henry's title to the crown was in question, it was incumbent on him to establish the fact by the testimony of those who had either witnessed Warbeck's baptism, or remembered his father at Edward's court. But the name of his pretended father is uncertain;—Warbeck according to historical narrative; Osbeck according to the confession ascribed to Perkin, as extorted from him; a confession which informs us that his birth-place was Tournay, but contains no trace of a Messiah from the Jews to the English nation.

2. He was removed in his infancy to Tournay, as a residence sufficient for the acquisition of the language might have involved Henry in the difficulty of proving his birth and early education in England⁶². But his knowledge of English was confessedly perfect, acquired, according to Bacon, in Flanders, by frequenting the company of English merchants; as if perfection were attainable in any language from the casual intercourse of a boy with foreigners. His confession is more explicit, and more contradictory. He was born at Tournay, from which his first excursion was to Antwerp, whither he was sent to acquire the Flemish, his native language; afterwards he lodged at a skinner's adjoining to the "house of the English nation;" and at last was placed by his friends in a merchant's service at Middleburgh, with whom he remained from Christmas to Easter, for the express purpose of learning the language. The merchant's name was John Strew; the language he taught was undoubtedly English: yet in Ireland, where Warbeck was mistaken for a Plantagenet, the inhabitants constrained him, against

⁶¹ Bacon,

⁶² Ibid.

his inclination, to acquire that language. Henry, solicitous to account for the purity of his accent, insinuated that his knowledge of English, which commenced from his vicinity at Antwerp to the English factory, was completed during his stay at Middleburgh; yet dissatisfied with this solution, Henry sends him at last to Ireland, to be instructed by force in the English language. The duke of York, if attended after his escape from the Tower by an English domestic, would retain the purity, and cultivate the propriety, of his vernacular language; but that correct pronunciation, which to him was natural, could be communicated to Warbeck, neither by an intercourse abroad with the English, nor by a short and precarious residence among the Irish⁶³. His pretensions, announced on his arrival in Ireland, must have been authenticated by a previous acquaintance with the language; an acquaintance unaccountable, unless on the supposition of his being the identical duke of York.

3. That a foreigner, a youth of obscure birth, should devise or execute such an imposture, assume the name, and support the character of a prince, whose person was unknown to him, indulge the preposterous ambition of supplanting a powerful and vigilant monarch, and in the character of their native prince, of usurping the throne of a nation, to which he was an absolute stranger, were contradictions which Henry was obliged to reconcile, by ascribing the imposture to Margaret's secret instigation and contrivance. She discovered in Warbeck a resemblance of her nephew, tutored him to personate that prince, and, to provide for the exigencies of his future

⁶³ It is easy to estimate the possibility of the fact; the acquisition of languages is now facilitated by grammars and dictionaries. Let us consider then within what determinate number of years we ourselves, residing in England, could acquire the Dutch or Flemish in perfection; and if in the course of a life, neither study, nor the converse of natives, could accomplish that, let us again consider what residence abroad would be necessary, and we will discover the impossibility of Perkin's acquiring English abroad or in Ireland.

character,

character, stored his mind with instructions and anecdotes concerning his family. Such a character, with the best instructions, was surely an arduous attempt for a foreigner. In the character of princes numerous impostors have deceived the world, but history furnishes no example of an impostor personating a foreign prince, to impose himself as a native on a foreign nation. The name of the unfortunate Warwick was adopted twice, but by English impostures. In the next century the false Demetrius, whose history has some resemblance to Warbeck's, obtained for a short period the Russian empire; but Demetrius, whatever was his birth, was a native of the country he aspired to govern⁶⁴; and in our own memory, Pugalscheff and others, who successively assumed the name of their murdered sovereign, were Russians, whose language and manners coincided with the character they endeavoured to personate. Such a residence abroad, as might vitiate the pronunciation, and alter the manners, of the duke of York, would certainly facilitate the attempt to support his character; but as Warbeck's pronunciation was confessedly perfect, and his behaviour consistent, we may estimate, with sufficient precision, the obstructions to be surmounted by a foreign impostor. Suppose then that the tragedy of Richard the Third were exhibited at Paris, and a French youth, instructed by an English actor to perform the part of the duke of York; his erroneous pronunciation and defective utterance, the repugnance of his action and manners to those peculiar to the English nation, his inability to preserve or attain to propriety for a single scene, would convince us that Warbeck, a foreigner, could not possibly be capacitated by Margaret's

⁶⁴ Demetrius is treated uniformly as an impostor by Russian historians; but foreigners, less prejudiced, are apt to recognise his title on the authority of a mother's public acknowledgment, never publicly disowned or retracted. He was supposed to have been murdered in his infancy, but re-appeared, attesting his escape, at the age of manhood.—Vide Cox's *Travels*.

instructions,

instructions, for the performance of the same character, with unexampled consistency, during his life. But Margaret was herself incapable of informing this actor; her marriage and departure from England preceded the birth of the duke of York, nor could she discover his resemblance in Perkin, describe his character, the features and appearance of his brothers and sisters, (none of whom she had ever beheld,) nor instruct her pupil in the daily incidents, the companions and pursuits of his juvenile years, at a court in which, after her marriage, she had never resided⁶⁵. The historical narrative is therefore false; but the confession published as Warbeck's disclaims it in a manner that exculpates Margaret and discredits itself. It was in Ireland, according to the confession, when Warbeck appeared at Cork dressed in some silk clothes of his master, that he was first mistaken for a Plantagenet, the son of Clarence; and when he denied it on oath, Water formerly the mayor, and Poytton an Englishman, repaired to him privately, maintained that he was a natural son of the late king Richard, assured him of adequate protection and succour, and advise him to assume that character without being intimidated by Henry's power. "And so," says the confession, "against my will they forced me to learn English, and taught me what I should do and say; and after this they called me duke of York, second son of king Edward IV. because king Richard's bastard son was in the hands of the king of England." Thus the imposture, concerted in Flanders, with such artful preparation, by the dukes of Burgundy, disappears from the canvas, and the whole resolves into an idle tale of a servant mistaken by the Irish for a prince, (not from personal resemblance, but because he was

⁶⁵ His information has also been attributed to Trion, formerly Henry's French secretary, seduced from his service, and dispatched with Lucas to Warbeck in Ireland; but a Frenchman retained for a period as a clerk by Henry, could communicate few particulars, and none of the domestic or secret transactions of a former reign.

dressed

dressed in his master's clothes,) and a plan for dethroning the king of England, constructed on such a mistake, by the mayor of Cork. Such absurd falsehood demonstrates that the confession was either extorted by torture, or fabricated after the execution of Warbeck. It was unknown to Fabian and Polydore Virgil, both contemporaries⁶⁶; but Historians of a subsequent period, who adopted the narrative of the latter, with such deviations as their prejudice suggested, have superadded to those indignities, and to that dishonourable death to which Warbeck was exposed, a public confession of his birth and parentage, his adventures and frauds, read aloud, they assure us, first when he was set in the stocks at Cheapside, and again before his execution at Tyburn. That the confession was fictitious, is certain from its falsehood; for Warbeck landed in Ireland, not to be trained to imposture, but to assert his pretensions, and to solicit assistance from the potent earls of Kildare and Desmond⁶⁷. That it was fabricated by Henry, is more than probable; but to what shall we attribute his suppression of Margaret's share in the imposture? Not to any regard for Margaret, whose character Warham, his ambassador in Flanders, had loaded publicly with reproach and abuse⁶⁸. Henry, to render the

⁶⁶ Polydore Virgil was sent by the Pope to England to collect the papal tribute about the year 1500, and continued there till the Reformation commenced. His history, as he informs us in a dedication to his brother, of his book *De Inventoribus Rerum*, was begun in 1505 at Henry's request, and finished in twelve years. His information was certainly derived from Henry; and with respect to Warbeck's execution in 1499, must be genuine: but he either knew not, or regarded the confession as spurious, when he omits it in his account of Warbeck's being set in the stocks, and afterwards hanged at Tyburn; p. 608.—See Fabian also.

⁶⁷ His letters to these noblemen were supposed to have been extant in Sir James Ware's time.—Ware's *Annals of Ireland*, 1492.

⁶⁸ "Dr. Warham, in the latter end of his oration, a little rebuked the lady Margaret, and hither on the thumbs, saying, that she now in her old age, and within few years, had produced and brought forth two detestable monsters, that is to say, Lambert and Perkin Warbeck; and being conceived of these great babes, not in eight
"or

the imposture probable, had circulated a story which he could not authenticate, and in the confession which he published durst not assert. The accusation of Margaret would have rendered a proof of the imposture necessary, and might have provoked her to publish, in her own vindication, incontestible evidence of Warbeck's identity with the duke of York. The repugnance between the confession and the historical narrative, (both of which originated with Henry,) must be ascribed to the impossibility of supporting either; and we must conclude that Henry was unable, either to ascertain the pretended birth of his rival, or to remove the improbability of a foreigner, a youth of obscure condition, aspiring to his crown, and projecting to dethrone him, by assuming the character of a prince destroyed in his early youth, whose name was almost forgotten in the world. His spies were certified, it is said, of Warbeck's parentage by "many honest persons in "Tourney;" but that testimony might have been obtained by his ambassador in a more unexceptionable and public manner, when Warbeck was expelled by his influence from Flanders. That testimony was necessary to vindicate his title; but his inability to produce it assures us, that he had made no real discovery of Warbeck's origin, to disprove his identity with the duke of York.

Nor is their identity refuted by Henry's pretended discovery of the previous murder of the duke of York. It is justly observed ⁶⁹, that on Henry's accession, when

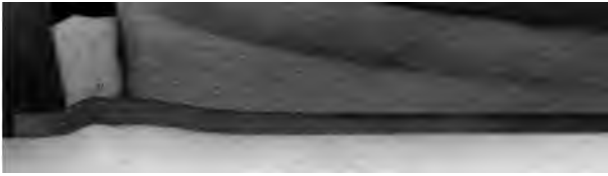
"or nine months, but on the one hundred and eightieth month, for
 "both these were at the least fifteen years of age before she could be
 "brought-to-bed of them; and when they were newly crept out of
 "her womb, they were no infants, nor sucking children, but lusty
 "younglings, and of age sufficient to bid battle to kings." Grafton,
 p. 901.—The historian observes, that although Margaret was vexed
 at being *bit on the thumbs*, Perkin was more disconcerted at the detection
 of his fraud in Warham's oration. Thus Henry accused Margaret
 publicly of a share in the imposture, and afterwards retracted the ac-
 cusation in the confession which he fabricated. Can that be ascribed
 to decorum?

⁶⁹ Historical Doubts.

Richard and his numerous adherents were attainted, the passions of the people, inflamed and agitated, should have been productive of an immediate investigation of the murder. No inquiry was instituted however, not till Henry (as Bacon informs us) imprisoned, on Warbeck's appearance, Dighton and Tyrell, the surviving assassins, and obtaining ample confessions of the murder, released the one "who spake best for his interest," but detained the other, whom he afterwards beheaded for a different crime. The purport, according to Bacon, of these confessions, was discovered only by public report; for Henry made no use of them in his subsequent declarations. Nor could he, for the confessions had not then an existence. Sir James Tyrell at that time enjoyed his confidence, if not his esteem. He had obtained from Henry the command of Guisnes; and after Warbeck's appearance and reception at Paris, was appointed one of the commissioners to conclude the treaty of Estaples with the French⁷⁰. He was not imprisoned till ten years afterwards; when, on Suffolk's flight in 1502, he was accused of treason, attainted, and beheaded. His confession must be postponed to that period; as More informs us, that, "when in the Tower for treason committed against Henry, he and Dighton confessed the murder"⁷¹. Henry's previous measures to ascertain the murder, originated therefore in the historian's invention; and as Tyrell's crime was a confederacy with Suffolk, no reliance can be placed on a rumoured confession, never published, but calculated to asperse the character, and vindicate the execution, of a soldier the victim of a tyrant's suspicions. Warbeck's pretensions required an immediate proof of the murder; but no discovery was made, nor inquiry instituted, till

⁷⁰ Hall, p. 18. 55. Rym. Fœd. vol. xii. p. 481.

⁷¹ Warbeck, who appeared in 1492, was executed in 1499. Fabian mentions sir James Tyrell's imprisonment and execution on Suffolk's account in 1502; not a word of his confession or imprisonment formerly.



APPENDIX.

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Warbeck's death; when a confession, certainly fictitious, was fastened on a person already condemned for a different crime.

Admitting then that Henry attempted neither to discover the murder, nor to establish the pretended obscurity of Warbeck's origin, that his competitor's pretensions derive additional confirmation from his failure, there was another more obvious detection of which the imposture was susceptible, an absolute criterion to determine its truth. Personal identity at different periods, derives its sole proof from the opinion of friends, and acknowledgments of kindred; and Margaret's attestation of her nephew's identity might have been counteracted, if false, by the more authoritative declarations of nearer relatives. The mother must have remembered her son, and the sisters their brother, whom they had formerly endeavoured to preserve in sanctuary, and the lost object of their fond regret, no lapse of time could efface from their memory. Manhood might expand, but it could not extirpate his youthful features; or if these were altered, a thousand incidents still remained,—the particulars of the night in which they took refuge in sanctuary, their distresses, dangers, and mutual endearments, their last separation and solemn farewell, the recollection of a sister's tears and a mother's blessing, all remained to determine his filial and fraternal claims. The declarations of the queen-dowager, of the queen, or of her sisters, would have decided his character; and their denial of his pretensions would have disabused the nation, and silenced for ever the sceptical voice of inquiry. "But Warbeck never was confronted with them: they were never asked, Is this your son? is this your brother?" Their verdict admitted of no appeal; but they might have recognized in Warbeck, the youth they had fondly cherished in sanctuary, and the emotions of nature might

cible from the disappearance of his nephews, and the report of their murder, is removed by the subsequent report of their existence, and the re-appearance of the youngest, whose identity, which his friends and kindred attested, his implacable enemy was unable to discredit. Henry's apprehensions of their appearance, are discovered by his severe and unmerited treatment of the queen-dowager, his preservation of Lambert as a remedy against future *enchancements* of a similar nature, his regret that Lincoln's death intercepted the knowledge of the *bottom of his danger* ⁷³; and his systematical depression of the Yorkists must be attributed, after his marriage with Elizabeth, not to a foolish and incurable prejudice, but to a persuasion that the existence of one of their princes rendered it dangerous to entrust them with power. But the reason assigned by Henry for the execution of Warwick, *vacuum domum scelestis nuptiis facere*, discloses his secret conviction of Warbeck's descent from the house of York. At the instigation of Ferdinand, who refused his daughter while the male line of Plantagenet existed, Warwick was removed as an obstruction to prince Arthur's approaching marriage ⁷⁴. His conspiracy with Warbeck was therefore fictitious, or rather, as was understood at the period, a snare prepared for their mutual destruction; but as Warbeck, if an impostor, was no obstacle to Arthur's nuptials, Henry, whose policy spared Lambert, stooped confessedly to a detestable artifice, in order to terminate his own or Ferdinand's fears, by the extinction of the two surviving princes of the race of Plantagenet.

That Perkin Warbeck was a genuine Plantagenet, that Richard was no usurper, nor a tyrant stained with the blood of his kinsmen, are conclusions of which the reception can only be obstructed by the difficulty of discarding our ancient historians. Their credit, however, is now diminished; More information is traced to Morton, than

⁷³ Bacon.⁷⁴ Ibid.

whom there was none more interested in traducing his recent, deserted sovereign; Polydore Virgil, a courtly writer, composed his history at Henry's request; and when succeeding chroniclers transcribed the one, and improved on the other, we may be assured that, during the Tudor dynasty, literature possessed no curiosity to examine, nor spirit to vindicate, an obscure and dangerous historical truth. Would historians, afraid to intimate the defect inherent in Henry's title, express the slightest recognition of his rivals, or suggest a marriage that rendered himself an usurper, his wife a bastard, and the royal issue of England's roses, doubly illegitimate, destitute of every hereditary or legal claim?⁷⁵ Would historians, whose rancour has branded Richard with every personal deformity and moral turpitude, transfer to Henry the imputation of murdering in Warbeck, the true Plantagenet, to secure an equivocal right to the crown? The same causes operated after the accession of the Stuarts, whose divine or hereditary right, derived from Henry's daughter, would have been impaired by whatever tended to Richard's vindication; and Buck, the first who asserted his innocence, felt the necessity of procuring a new title for the reigning family, in the descent of James from the Saxon monarchs⁷⁶. Bacon's history might have been composed from materials that are now lost; an apologetical history, calculated to establish his master's despotical principles, and display their milder exercise, by the severe precedent of a former reign; but when the historian records as real what he conceived requisite, who can discriminate facts from the produce of invention? The inquisition concerning the murder of the princes, however

⁷⁵ "A bastard branch of Lancaster, matched with a bastard of York, were obtruded on the nation as the right heirs of the crown; and as far as two negatives make an affirmative, they were so."—*Historic Doubts*, p. 40.

⁷⁶ From Margaret, Edgar Atheling's sister, married to Malcolm Canmore.

requisite,

requisite, was not instituted; and Warbeck's manifesto was perverted, either capriciously, or to countenance the purport of a wretched speech. That manifesto contains no explanation of his escape from the Tower, nor was it prudent to expose his secret deliverers to Henry's resentment; but his supposed oration to the Scottish court (a fiction of Grafton's, embellished by Bacon) will not persuade us that the *smooth and likely tale* of his deliverance was absurd and improbable; that his life, according to his own account, was spared by the compassion, and his escape effected by the connivance and aid, of his brother's murderers ⁷⁷. But to those who, in estimating the voice of history, take no computation of the character of historians, timid or venal, subservient to the times, or obsequious to power, let me suggest an illustration that may render the present dissertation not entirely barren of moral instruction. The fate of Richard's nephews, and the participation of the Scottish Mary in her husband's murder, constitute two problematical questions in British story, exemplified in the recent annals of Europe, by crimes of a more unequivocal and detestable die. Richard died like a soldier, but his memory has been persecuted with unmerited hatred; and the beautiful and accomplished Mary, expelled from her throne and paternal kingdom, bewailed her misfortunes in a long captivity, and expiated her imputed guilt with her blood. The present generation has beheld a princess murder her husband and usurp his throne, and with despotic impunity rule an empire to which she was an alien. We have seen usurpation recognized as legal, parricide and regicide approved as glorious, by the monarchs of Europe, who, instead of confederating to vindicate sovereignty thus outraged, solicit her alliance,

⁷⁷ A smooth and likely tale indeed! It is observable that the proclamation, the only genuine evidence derived from Warbeck of his pretensions or character, neither gives countenance to the absurdity supposed to attend his escape, nor accuses Richard of a single crime; yet Bacon has given it such an implied meaning.

and sue for her friendship; by those monarchs, who, if a gallant nation, re-asserting its freedom, interpose an intermediate power between the prince and his people, are alarmed for their own indefeatable supremacy, and eager, by the conspiracy of their flagitious arms, to reduce that state to its pristine servitude. Two observations are deducible from an example, the dishonour, not the detestation, of Europe: The one is, that the virtues and the vices of the human species are, in different periods, nearly balanced; that if three centuries of progressive refinement have improved the manners and repressed the vices, they have also debased and degraded the virtues of the moderns; supplanted that indignation which pursued the supposed guilt of a Richard and a Mary, and instructed nations, at least their rulers, to sympathize with the successful crimes of a female usurper, not to commiserate the wrongs of her murdered husband. The other observation is, that under her despotism his fate will be converted by the discreet historian into a natural demise; and if her successors are interested in her meretricious virtues, the falsehood will be propagated by future historians, till the time arrive when the crime itself shall become problematical, and the inquirer, who reads in foreign authors the *decease* of the prince, will not credit the imputation of a murder, of which the annals of his country contain no trace. But when the just imputation of such atrocity is, in this enlightened period, suppressed by power, or averted, even among foreigners⁷⁸, by its splendor, who will tell me that, during five reigns, and a long century, of Tudor domination, historians would venture, by the suggestion of Richard's title, to pronounce his successors a race of usurpers, or by a surmise of his innocence, to establish their right on the murder of his

⁷⁸ See in Coxe's Travels, (but I forget the passage, the personage, the period of time, or the particular region,) a curious instance of such a *decease*.

nephew,

nephew, the duke of York? The Stuarts are accused, and perhaps with truth, of obliterating the evidence of Mary's guilt; and it is not presumable that a document of Richard's innocence, or his nephew's existence, would survive the suppression of the monasteries, and escape the destructive vigilance of either Henry. But whether the solicitude of Mary's descendants has redeemed her innocence, Richard's must be recognized, when of numerous accusations, no crime has been substantiated by a race of sovereigns hostile to his memory, nor scrupulous either in the abuse of power, or the perversion of truth.

N^o IV.

[Ex originali in Bibl. Thomæ Astlei, arm.]

Recepta Scaccarij. **DECLARATIO** fact. metuendis-
 simo domino nostro regi nunc
 Henrico Octavo per Johan-
 nem Cutte militem subthes.
 Anglie tam de feodis & an-
 nuitatibus diversarum per-
 sonarum solut. ad receptam
 Scaccarij illustrissimi princi-
 pis famose memorie domini
 Henrici nuper regis Anglie
 Septimi quam de omnibus &
 singulis denariorum summis
 pro quibuscumque alijs causis
 per mandatum dicti nuper
 regis ad receptam predictam
 solut. & assignat. pro uno anno
 integro finit. ad festum sancti
 Michaelis Archangeli anno
 regni serenissime majestatis
 predict. nuper regis 24^{to}. ut
 in consequentibus particulis
 plenius apparent; videlicet,

Tempore nuper regis Henrici Septimi.

Provinciis, milicibus, armigeris, & diversis alijs personis.

J OHANNI comiti Oxon. constabular. Tur-	£.	s.	d.
in regis London. de feod. suo, per annum	100	0	0
Willelmo domino Conyers—De hereditate			
lud. per ann.	20	0	0
	Thome		

	£.	s.	d.
Petro Shampayn arm.—De annuitate sua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Roberto Knollys arm.—De annuitate sua, per ann. - - -	13	6	8
Thome Neville arm.—De annuitate sua, per ann. - - -	20	0	0
Johanni Heron—Rangeatori regis infra fo- restam de Waltham, per ann. -	9	2	6
Hugoni Denys—Virgebajulo infra castrum regis de Wyndesore, per ann. -	18	5	0
Johanni de Roye—De annuitate sua, per ann.	26	13	4
Edwardo Chefeman—Coferario hospicii regis de appunctuac. per ann. - - -	300	0	0
Andree Wyndesore mil.—Clerico magne garderobe regis de appunctuac. per ann.	300	0	0
Johanni Meawtys—Secretario domini regis in lingua Gallica, de annuitate sua, per ann. - - -	40	0	0
Roberto Rydon—Clerico consilij domini regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	26	13	4
Ricardo Dycons—Custod. Brun. domini regis in comuni banco, de annuitate sua, per ann. - - -	6	13	4
Willelmo Smyth—Custod. thesaurum & al. har- nec. regis infra Turrim London. de annui- tate sua, per ann. - - -	18	5	0
Roberto Hasilrigge—Custod. garderobe regis infra palacium Westm. de feodo suo, per ann. - - -	12	3	4
Petro Narbone—Barbitonfori domini regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	13	6	8
Ricardo Gybson & alijs luforibus domini regis —De annuitate sua, per ann. -	13	6	8
Henrico Glasebury & alijs ministrallis domi- ni regis—De annuitate sua, per ann.	53	6	8
Garcionibus			

	£.	s.	d.
Garcionibus & pagettis camere domini regis de reg. inter se erga festum natalis Domini annuatim confuet. per ann. -	100	0	0
Willelmo Cornyshe—Magistro puerorum capelle regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. pro excubicione eorundem puerorum	26	13	4
Radulpho Jenette—Custod. lectorum & armature domini regis infra castrum ¹ de Wyndesore, de feodo suo, per ann.	13	13	9
Ricardo Gybson—Portatori magne garde-robe regis in civitate London. per ann.	6	1	8
Antonio Spynell—De annuitate sua, per ann.	20	0	0
Johanni de Pounde—Armurario regis de annuitate sua, per ann. -	20	0	0
Ricardo Smyth—Custod. gardini regis infra Turrin London. de feodo suo, per ann.	9	2	6
Thome Holden—Custod. hospicij regalis infra pallacium Westm. de feodo suo, per ann. -	6	1	8
Radulpho Pontiewe—Brigandario regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	10	0	0
Cornelio Vandestrete—Aresmaker, de feodo suo, per ann. -	18	5	0
Henrico Wyndesore—De annuitate sua, per ann. -	5	0	0
Johanni Turstan—Magistro barge domini regis, de annuitate sua, per ann. -	11	8	6½
Eidem Johanni—Pro vadijs 20 hominum ad serviendū domino regi in barga sua, per ann. -	20	0	0
Fredefwide Pullenham—De annuitate sua, per ann. -	5	0	0

Summa hujus tituli, £. 2,111 15 2½

Heraldis

Heraldīs & purſevandīs domini regis.

	℥.	s.	d.
Thome Bevolte, al. Clarenceux herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	20	0	0
Johanni Young, al. Norrey herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	20	0	0
Johanni Pounde, al. Somerſett. herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	13	6	8
Johanni Joynor, al. Rychemounde herald, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	13	6	8
Laurencio de la Gatta, al. Rougecrōx purſevand, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	10	0	0
Radulpho Lagoo, al. Blewmantell purſevand, de annuitate ſua, per ann.	10	0	0
Summa hujus tituli,	86	13	4

Diverſis perſonis eccleſiaſticis.

Magiſtro Johi Yong—Cuſtod. rotulorum cancellarie regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	31	8	2
Decano capelle domini regis pro oblacionibus ipſius domini regis debit' in die paſſaven, per ann.	33	6	8
Willelmo Malham—Clerico parve bage cellar. domini regis, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	10	0	0
Fratribus minoribus Oxon.—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	33	6	8
Fratribus predicatoribus Cantebrieg.—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	16	13	4
Fratribus minoribus Cantebrieg.—De annuitate ſua, per ann.	16	13	4
Fratribus			

A P P E N D I X.

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	£.	s.	d.
Fratribus predicatoribus in civitate London.			
—De annuitate sua, per ann.	20	0	0
Fratribus & sororibus sancte Katherine juxta Turrim London.—De annuitate sua, per ann.	3	13	4
Abbatj monasterij de Stratford—De annui- tate sua, per ann.	5	0	0
Willelmo Gyddyng — Clerico rectori de Ayshe, de annuitate sua, per ann.	5	0	0
Ricardo Surbande—Clerico rectori capelle regis infra Turrim London. de annuitate sua, per ann.	6	13	4
Infirmis leprosis sancti Egidij London. de an- nuitate sua, per ann.	3	0	0
Puero episcopo sancti Nicholai infra capellam sancti Stephani, de annuitate sua, per ann.	1	0	0

Summa hujus tituli, £.185 13 10

Servientibus domini regis ad arma.

Gilberto Mawdesley—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Thome Twysday—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Hugoni Cholmeley—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Willelmo Butteler—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Jacobo Conyers—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Leonello Crafford—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Mauricio Butteler—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
	Willelmo		

	£.	s.	d.
Willelmo More—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Johanni Harper—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Roberto Wafshyngton—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
Edwardo Gryffith—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	18	5	0
	<hr/>		
Summa hujus tituli,	£.	200	15 0
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Valectis de corona domini regis.

Johanni Wattys—De feodo suo, ad 12d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Henrico Strete—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Willelmo Almer—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Olivero Turnor—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Davye—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Evan—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Jeffron—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Roberto Walker—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Amyas—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Brereton—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Forde—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
	Petro		

A P P E N D I X

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	£.	s.	d.
Petro Wratton—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Whytyngton—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Henrico Hopkyns—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Edmundo Huntewade—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Smyth—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Johanni Almer—De feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Summa hujus tituli,	£. 155	2	6

Clerico, valecto, & vibrellatoribus ordinac. domini regis.

Willelmo Archebald—Clerico ordinacionum domini regis, de feodo suo, ad 8d. per diem per ann.	12	3	4
Ricardo Smythe—Valetto ordinacionum regis, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Thome Greves—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Ricardo Fawconer—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Eidem Ricardo—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, pro vadijs unius hominis	9	2	6
Rogero Anglois—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Roberto Fysher—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
Blasio Billarde—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	9	2	6
	Winardq		

	£.	s.	d.
Winardo Godfrey—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Willelmo Ivec—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Henrico Cromer—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Pais Reynold—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Euelmo Lucryand—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6
Johanni Wyftowe—Vibrellatori, de feodo suo, ad 6d. per diem, per ann.	-	9	2 6

Summa hujus tituli, £. 130 15 10

Theſaurario Anglie, baronibus ac alijs officiarijs & miniſtris de Scaccario domini regis.

Thome duci Norff.—Domino theſaurario Anglie, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	365	0	0
Willelmo Hody milit.—Capitali baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	100	0	0
Bartho. Weſteby—Secundar. baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	46	13	4
Willelmo Bollyng.—Tercio baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	46	13	4
Johanni Aleyn—4to baroni in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	46	13	4
Thome Lovell milit.—Cancellar. regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	26	13	4
Roberto Blagge—Remem. ex parte regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	55	17	4
Edmundo Denny—Remem. ex parte theſaur. regis in Scaccario, de feodo ſuo, per ann.	-	64	3	6
		Thome		

A P P E N D I X.

463

		£.	s.	d.
Thome Darnalle—Clerico magni rotuli in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	-	47	19	7
Riegnaldo Fillole—Contra rotulatori magni rotuli in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.		13	14	7
Quinque auditoribus in Scaccario, cuilibet eorum ad 10l. per annum, in toto per ann.		50	0	0
Edmundo Wylley—Oppositori forinfeco in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	-	16	13	4
Willelmo Atwode—Clerico extractarum in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	-	15	0	0
Roberto Bristolle—Clerico ad placita in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	-	5	0	0
Ricardo Blacwall—Marescallo in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	-	5	0	0
Thome Sacheverell—Summonitori in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	-	4	0	0
Willelmo Fermer—Clerico ad tall. jungend.		5	0	0
in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.				
Johanni Newporte—Alteri clerico ad tall. jungend.		5	0	0
in Scaccario, de feodo suo, per ann.	-			
Johanni Majer & Johanni Copwood	Clericis secundar ex parte remem. regis in Scaccario, de feodis suis, cuilibet eorum, ad 4l. per ann.	8	0	0
Johanni Castell & Johanni Dodde	Clericis secundarijs ex parte rem. thes. de feodis suis inter se, per ann.	9	0	0
Thome Caundishe & Johanni Pette	Clericis secundar. sub clerico magni rotuli in Scaccario cuilibet eorum, ad 5l. per ann, in toto inter se	10	0	0
				Hostiario

	£.	s.	d.
Hostiario de Scaccario—Pro brevibus regis portant. ad divers. loca Anglie, pro feodis dietis suis, ac pro cera & alijs necessarijs per ipsos empt. and provis. per ann.	32	14	0½
Summa hujus tituli,	£.979	14	3½

**Camerarijs, subthesaurarijs, & alijs officiarijs &
ministris de recepta Scaccarij regis.**

Sampsoni Norton mil.—Uni camerar. recepte Scaccarij regis, de feodo suo, per ann.	52	3	4
Johanni Curte mil.—Subthes. Anglie, de feodo suo, per ann.	173	6	8
Johanni Daunce—Uni numeratorum re- cepte, de feodo suo, per ann.	31	13	4
Johanni Hasilwode—Alteri numeratorum re- cepte, de feodo suo, per ann.	31	13	4
Johanni Lewis—De feodo suo, per ann.	28	6	8
Roberto Blacwall—De feodo suo, per ann.	17	10	0
Johanni Milletti—De feodo suo, per ann.	10	0	0
Hugoni Nayler—De feodo suo, per ann.	10	0	0
Ricardo Barley—De feodo suo, per ann.	6	0	0
Thomo Goldesburgh—De feodo suo, per ann.	6	0	0
Hugoni Denys—Hostiar. de recepta pro feodis dietis suis, cera, & alijs necessarijs per ipsum empt. & provis. per ann.	26	4	0½
Henrico Pemberton—De feodo suo, per ann.	5	0	0
Willelmo Gilbert—Portatori bage cum ro- tulla & alijs memorandis, de feodo suo, per ann.	6	6	8
Eidem Willelmo—Super provisione perga- menti pro officio thes. & camerar. per ann.	4	0	0
	Quatuor		

	£.	s.	d.
Quatuor nuncijs de recepta—Pro vadijs cujuslibet eorum, ad 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. per diem inter se, in toto per ann. - -	27	7	6
Summa hujus tituli, £.	435	11	6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Summa totalis de omnibus & singulis feodis & annuitatibus super predictis solutis ad receptam Scaccarij illustrissimi domini Henrici nuper regis Anglie septimi, pro uno anno integro finito ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli anno 24to predicti nuper regis - £. 4,286 1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$

Totalis soluc. in promptis denarijs & assignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis super expensis hospicii sui per tempus predictum 12,759 9 11

Totalis soluc. in promptis denarijs & assign. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis super expensis & provisione garderobe sue per tempus super predictum - - - 1,715 19 11

Totalis assignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illustrissimi nuper regis pro expensis ambassatorum per tempus predictum 2,000 0 0

Totalis assignac. in talijs ad receptam predictam per mandatum dicti illust-

£. s. d.

triffimi nuper regis pro manutenen-			
cia & salva custodia Este & Mid-			
dlemarch. versus Scociam pro ex-			
pensis ducis Ebor. per tempus			
predictum	-	-	1,000 0 0

Totalis assignac. in tallijs ad receptam			
predictam per mandatum dicti			
illustriissimi nuper regis & per			
eundem nuper regem ratione di-			
versi. forisfactur. fervientibus suis			
dat nomine regardi per tempus			
predictum	-	-	403 6 8

Totalis assignac. in tallijs ad receptam			
predictam per mandatum dicti il-			
lustriissimi nuper regis pro expensis			
operacionum suarum per tempus			
supradictum	-	-	333 6 8

Summa totalis omnium & sin-			
gulorum solacionum & assigna-			
cionum predict. per illustri-			
ssimum principem famose			
memorie dominum Henricum			
nuper regem Anglie Septi-			
mum pro diversis & separalibus			
caulis diversis personis conc. a			
festis sancti Michis Archangeli			
anno regni egregie sue majes-			
tatis 23to usque festum sancti			
Michis Archi. proxime se-			
quentem anno 24to. ejusdem			
nuper regis pro uno anno in-			
tegro	-	-	£.22,498 4 8½

N^o V.

Extracts from a MS. Book in the Remembrancer's Office, almost every Page signed by K. Henry VII.

13th Hen. VII.

ITEM, to a woman for three apples, 12d.

Item, for two pair of bellows, 10d.

Item, for the king's losse at tennis, 12d.

Item, for losse of balls there, 3d.

N. B. The king's Sunday's offering seems constantly to have been, 6s. 8d.

To the preacher of the day, 20s.

Item, for three sackbuthes wages, 6 li.

Item, for three stryngmynstrels wages, 5 li.

Item, for offering St. George's day, 30s.

John Send. nonick Rebeck, 40s. per month.

Item, for the feryboate of Rochester, 53s. 4d.

14th Hen. VII.

Item, a rewarde given for apples by Thomas Foteman homeward, 20d.

Item, to a strange taberer, in reward, 66s. 8d.

Item, to a strange tumbler, in reward, 20s.

Item, for heling of a seke maïd, 6s. 8d.—

N. B. This charge occurs frequently, and was perhaps the piece of gold given by the king in touching for the evil.—Q. If there was any such piece of coin?

20th July. Item, to the mayor of Rochester towards the bridge there, 100s.

Item, for a stryngmynstrell for one moneth's wages of August last passed, 15s.

Item, for finding three hares, 6s. 8d.—

N. B. This occurs frequently.

Item, to a piper at Huntingdon, 2s.

H h 2

Item,

- Item, for apples presented by a woman, 4d.
 Item, for breaking of hegges at Wiscome, 20d.
 Item, to my lord prince's organ-player for a qrt. wages ending at Michell., 10s.
 Item, for three dozen of leder gloves, 12s.
 Item, to the yeomen of the king's chamber for their months wages of November last passed, 07l. 8s. 8d.
 Item, for the wages of the feke yeomen, 60s.
 Item, to a tumbler at my lord Bathe's, 20s.
 Item, to the players of London, in reward, 10s.
 Item, to the tabourers and a tumbler, 20s.
 Item, to my lord Dudley's servant for bringing up a money-maker, 13s. 4d.
 Item, to a Scotch fole, in reward, 13s. 4d.
 Item, to Mr Thomas Brandon for a horse, 4l.
 Item, for another horse, 4l.
 Item, for a third horse, 06s. 8d.
 Item, to a Ducheman for a cage, 4l.
 Item, to master Barnard the blind poete, 100s.
 To William Eit for digging of the conduyt at Wodestock, plis. 20l.
 To the abbot of Reading for lede bought for Wodestock, 16l.
 For the carriage of the same, 18s.
 Item, to Jakes Haute for the conduyt at Wodestock upon a bill, 10l. 12s. 10d.
 Item, to a man and woman for strawburyes, 8s. 4d.
 Item, to the bishop of Bangor's cheefes at Lantony, 0s. 8d. N. B. This frequently.
 Item, for a woman for a red roffe, 2s.
 For the hure of a cart from London to Wodestock, 10s.

A P P E N D I X.

Extracts from a MS. in the Remembrancer's Office.

9th Hen. VII.

Item, to Robert Forst for appaules and cakes, 6s. 8d.

Item, to Cart for writing of a booke, 6s. 8d.

Item, to one that presented two cakes and cheefe, 13s. 4d.

Item, to fir Robert Curson's serrent for an horse, 40s.

Item, to Danyell riding to Shene and Thistleworth, 2s.

Item, for a pair of trusling cofres boughte, 10s.

20th Dec. Item, to a fellow with a berde, a spyce, in reward, 20s.

Item, to two monkes, speyes, in reward, 40s.

Item, payed for two pleyes in the hall, 26s. 8d.

Item, to the king's pleyers, for a rewarde, 100s.

Item, to him that brought the pnofticacon, 6s. 8d.

Item, to the king to play at cardes, 100s.

Item, to John Ibye, a spyce, in reward, 13s. 4d.

Item, to one who brought the king a lyon, 53s. 4d.

Item, to a spyce that dwelleth in the west coun-trye, 20s.

For the king at tables, chefs, glaffes, &c. 56s. 8d.

Item, to the players that begged by the way, 6s. 8d.

Item, to a littell feloo of Shaftesburye, 20s.

Item, to Pechie the sole, in rewarde, 6s. 8d.

Item, lost to my lord Moring at buttes, 6s. 3d.

Item, to Afshbyby for writing of a boke, 3s. 4d.

8th June. Item, to fir Edward Bouroughe which the king lost at buttes with his crossebowe, 13s. 4d.

10th. Item, to a Spanyarde that played the sole, 40s.

- 20th July. Item, to a woman that broke an heggez by the way, 12d.
- 5th Aug^r. Item, to Diego, the Spanish fole, in reward, 20s.
- 2d Octo^r. Item, to the shippes beates that brought the king's grace to and fro the ship the Swan, 40s.
- Item, to the mariners of the same Swan, 6l. 13s. 4d.
- Item, to the mynstrells that played therein, 13s. 4d.
- Item, to Dege, the Spaynythe foole, in rewarde, 3s. 8d.
- Item, to a Scot, an epye, in rewarde, 40s.
- Item, to one that presented the king with a mule, 20s.
- Item, to one that bought a lamprey, in reward, 4s.
- Item, to Harry Poyning, the king's godson, in reward, 20s.
- Item, to the sole the 3d of Lancastre.
- Item, to finding one hare, 3s. 4d.
- 25th May. Item, to Pudeley paper in the bagpipes, 6s. 8d.
- N. B. The several items are not following each other, but copied from various places in the book.

T. ASTLE.



THE
L I F E
OF
ROBERT HENRY, D. D.

DR. ROBERT HENRY, author of the "History of Great Britain, written on a new plan," was the son of James Henry, farmer at Muirtown in the parish of St. Ninian's, North Britain, and of Jean Galloway daughter of — Galloway of Burrow-meadow in Stirlingshire. He was born on the 18th of February 1718; and having early resolved to devote himself to a literary profession, was educated first under a Mr. John Nicholson at the parish school of St. Ninian's, and for some time at the grammar-school of Stirling. He completed his course of academical study at the university of Edinburgh, and afterwards became master of the grammar-school of Anan. He was licensed to preach on the 27th of March 1746, and was the first licentiate of the presbytery of Anan after its erection into a separate presbytery. Soon after, he received a call from a congregation of Presby-

terian dissenters at Carlisle, where he was ordained in November 1748. In this station he remained twelve years, and on the 13th of August 1760 became pastor of a dissenting congregation in Berwick upon Tweed. Here he married, in 1763, Ann Balderston, daughter of Thomas Balderston, surgeon in Berwick; by whom he had no children, but with whom he enjoyed to the end of his life a large share of domestic happiness. He was removed from Berwick to be one of the ministers of Edinburgh in November 1768; was minister of the church of the New Grey Friars from that time till November 1776; and then became colleague-minister in the old church, and remained in that station till his death. The degree of Doctor in Divinity was conferred on him by the university of Edinburgh in 1770; and in 1774 he was unanimously chosen moderator of the general assembly of the church of Scotland, and is the only person on record who obtained that distinction the first time he was a member of the assembly.

From these facts which contain the outlines of Dr. Henry's life, few events can be expected to suit the purpose of the biographer. Though he must have been always distinguished among his private friends, till he was translated to Edinburgh he had few opportunities of being known to the public. The composition of sermons must have occupied a chief part of his time during his residence at Carlisle, and his industry in that station is known to have rendered his labours in this department easy to him during the rest of his life.

But even there he found leisure for other studies; and the knowledge of classical literature, in which he eminently excelled, soon enabled him to acquire an extent of information which qualified him for something more important than he had hitherto had in his view.

Soon after his removal to Berwick, he published a scheme for raising a fund for the benefit of the widows and orphans of Protestant dissenting ministers in the north of England. This idea was probably suggested by the prosperity of the fund which had almost thirty years before been established for a provision to ministers widows, &c. in Scotland. But the situations of the clergy of Scotland were very different from the circumstances of dissenting ministers in England. Annuities and provisions were to be secured to the families of dissenters, without subjecting the individuals (as in Scotland) to a proportional annual contribution, and without such means of creating a fund as could be the subject of an act of parliament to secure the annual payments. The acuteness and activity of Dr. Henry surmounted these difficulties; and, chiefly by his exertions, this useful and benevolent institution commenced about the year 1762. The management was entrusted to him for several years; and its success has exceeded the most sanguine expectations which were formed of it. The plan itself, now sufficiently known, it is unnecessary to explain minutely. But it is mentioned here, because Dr. Henry was accustomed in the last years of his life to speak of this institution with peculiar affection, and

attempt on so large a scale a subject so intricate and extensive as the history of Britain from the invasion of Julius Cæsar. That Dr. Henry neither over-rated his powers nor his industry, could only have been proved by the success and reputation of his works.

But he soon found that his residence at Berwick was an insuperable obstacle to the minute researches which the execution of his plan required. His situation there excluded him from the means of consulting the original authorities; and though he attempted to find access to them by means of his literary friends, and with their assistance made some progress in his work, his information was notwithstanding so incomplete, that he found it impossible to prosecute his plan to his own satisfaction, and was at last compelled to relinquish it.

By the friendship of Gilbert Laurie, Esq. late lord provost of Edinburgh, and one of his majesty's commissioners of excise in Scotland, who had married the sister of Mrs. Henry, he was removed to Edinburgh in 1768; and to this event the public are indebted for his prosecution of the History of Great Britain. His access to the public libraries, and the means of supplying the materials which these did not afford him, were from that time used with so much diligence and perseverance, that the first volume of his History in quarto was published in 1771, the second in 1774, the third in 1777, the fourth in 1781, and the fifth (which brings down the history to the accession of Henry VII.) in 1785. The subject of these volumes comprehends

hends the most intricate and obscure periods of our history; and when we consider the scanty and scattered materials which Dr. Henry has digested, and the accurate and minute information which he has given us under every chapter of his work, we must have a high opinion both of the learning and industry of the author, and of the vigour and activity of his mind; especially when it is added, that he employed no amanuensis, but completed the manuscript with his own hand; and that, excepting the first volume, the whole book, such as it is, was printed from the original copy. Whatever corrections were made on it, were inserted by interlineations, or in revising the proof-sheets. He found it necessary, indeed, to confine himself to a first copy, from an unfortunate tremor in his hand, which made writing extremely inconvenient, which obliged him to write with his paper on a book placed on his knee instead of a table, and which unhappily increased to such a degree that in the last years of his life he was often unable to take his victuals without assistance. An attempt which he made after the publication of the fifth volume to employ an amanuensis did not succeed. Never having been accustomed to dictate his compositions, he found it impossible to acquire a new habit; and though he persevered but a few days in the attempt, it had a sensible effect on his health, which he never afterwards recovered.—An author has no right to claim indulgence, and is still less entitled to credit from the public, for any thing which can be ascribed to negligence in committing his manuscripts to the press;

prefs; but considering the difficulties which Dr. Henry surmounted, and the accurate research and information which distinguish his history, the circumstances which have been mentioned are far from being uninteresting, and must add considerably to the opinion formed of his merit among men who are judges of what he has done. He did not profess to study the ornaments of language; but his arrangement is uniformly regular and natural, and his style simple and perspicuous. More than this he has not attempted, and this cannot be denied him. He believed that the time which might be spent in polishing or rounding a sentence, was more usefully employed in investigating and ascertaining a fact: and as a book of facts and solid information, supported by authentic documents, his History will stand a comparison with any other History of the same period.

But Dr. Henry had other difficulties to surmount than those which related to the composition of his work. Not having been able to transact with the booksellers to his satisfaction, the five volumes were originally published at the risk of the author. When the first volume appeared, it was censured with an unexampled acrimony and perseverance. Magazines, reviews, and even newspapers, were filled with abusive remarks and invectives, in which both the author and the book were treated with contempt and scurrility. When an author has once submitted his works to the public, he has no right to complain of the *just* severity of criticism. But Dr. Henry had to contend with the inveterate scorn

scorn of malignity. In compliance with the usual custom, he had permitted a sermon to be published which he had preached before the Society in Scotland for propagating Christian Knowledge in 1773; a composition containing plain good sense on a common subject, from which he expected no reputation. This was eagerly seized on by the adversaries of his History, and torn to pieces with a virulence and asperity which no want of merit in the sermon could justify or explain. An anonymous letter had appeared in a newspaper to vindicate the History from some of the unjust censures which had been published, and asserting from the real merit and accuracy of the book the author's title to the approbation of the public. An answer appeared in the course of the following week, charging him, in terms equally confident and indecent, with having written this letter in his own praise. The efforts of malignity seldom fail to defeat their purpose, and the recoil on those who direct them. Dr. Henry had many friends, and till lately had not discovered that he had any enemies. But the author of the anonymous vindication was unknown to him, till the learned and respectable Dr. Macqueen, from the indignation excited by the confident petulance of the answer, informed him that the letter had been written by him. These anecdotes are still remembered. The abuse of the History, which began in Scotland, was renewed in some of the periodical publications in South Britain; though it is justice to add (without meaning to refer to the candid observations of

English critics), that in both kingdoms the asperity originated in the same quarter, and that paragraphs and criticisms written at Edinburgh were printed in London. The same spirit appeared in *Strictures* published on the second and third volumes : but by this time it had in a great measure lost the attention of the public. The malevolence was sufficiently understood, and had long before become fatal to the circulation of the periodical paper from which it originally proceeded. The book, though printed for the author, had sold beyond his most sanguine expectations ; and had received both praise and patronage from men of the first literary characters in the kingdom : and though, from the alarm which had been raised, the booksellers did not venture to purchase the property till after the publication of the fifth volume, the work was established in the opinion of the public, and at last rewarded the author with a high degree of celebrity, which he happily lived to enjoy.

In an article relating to Dr. Henry's life, not to have mentioned the opposition which his *History* encountered, would have been both affectation and injustice. The facts are sufficiently remembered, and are unfortunately too recent to be more minutely explained. That they contributed at first to retard the sale of the work is undeniable, and may be told without regret now that its reputation is established. The book has raised itself to eminence as a *History of Great Britain* by its own merits ; and the means employed to obstruct its progress have only served to embellish its success.

Dr.

Dr. Henry was no doubt encouraged from the first by the decided approbation of some of his literary friends, who were allowed to be the most competent judges of his subject ; and in particular by one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation. The following character of the first and second volumes was drawn up by that gentleman, and is well entitled to be inserted in a narrative of Dr. Henry's life. " Those " who profess a high esteem for the first volume of " Dr. Henry's History, I may venture to say, are " almost as numerous as those who have perused it, " provided they be competent judges of a work of " that nature, and are acquainted with the difficulties which attend such an undertaking. Many " of those who had been so well pleased with the " first were impatient to see the second volume, " which advances into a field more delicate and " interesting ; but the Doctor hath shown the " maturity of his judgment, as in all the rest, so " particularly in giving no performance to the " public that might appear crude or hasty, or composed before he had fully collected and digested the materials. I venture with great sincerity to " recommend this volume to the perusal of every " curious reader who desires to know the state of " Great Britain, in a period which has hitherto " been regarded as very obscure, ill supplied with " writers, and not possessed of a single one that " deserves the appellation of a good one. It is " wonderful what an instructive, and even enter-
taining

“ taining book the Doctor has been able to com-
 “ pose from such unpromising materials : *Tantum*
 “ *series juncturaque pollet*. When we see those
 “ barbarous ages delineated by so able a pen, we
 “ admire the oddness and singularity of the man-
 “ ners, customs, and opinions of the times, and
 “ seem to be introduced into a new world ; but we
 “ are still more surprised, as well as interested,
 “ when we reflect that those strange personages
 “ were the ancestors of the present inhabitants of
 “ this island. The object of an antiquary hath
 “ been commonly distinguished from that of an
 “ historian ; for though the latter should enter into
 “ the province of the former, it is thought that it
 “ should only be *quanto basta*, that is, so far as is
 “ necessary, without comprehending all the minute
 “ disquisitions which give such supreme pleasure to
 “ the mere antiquary. Our learned author hath
 “ fully reconciled these two characters. His his-
 “ torical narrative is as full as those remote times
 “ seem to demand, and at the same time his in-
 “ quiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing
 “ which can be an object of doubt or curiosity.
 “ The one as well as the other is delivered with
 “ great perspicuity, and no less propriety, which
 “ are the true ornaments of this kind of writing.
 “ All superfluous embellishments are avoided ; and
 “ the reader will hardly find in our language any
 “ performance that unites together so perfectly the
 “ two great points of entertainment and instruction.”
 —The gentleman who wrote this character died
 before the publication of the third volume *.

* The Quarto Edition in Six Volumes is referred to throughout.

The progress of Dr. Henry's work introduced him to more extensive patronage, and in particular to the notice and esteem of the late earl of Mansfield. That venerable nobleman, who was so well entitled to the gratitude and admiration of his country, thought the merit of Dr. Henry's history so considerable, that, without any solicitation, after the publication of the fourth volume, he applied personally to his Majesty to bestow on the author some mark of his royal favour. In consequence of this, Dr. Henry was informed by a letter from lord Stormont, then secretary of state, of his Majesty's intention to confer on him an annual pension for life, of 100 l. "considering his distinguished talents and great literary merit, and the importance of the very useful and laborious work in which he was so successfully engaged, as titles to his royal countenance and favour." The warrant was issued on the 28th of May 1781; and his right to the pension commenced from the 5th of April preceding. This pension he enjoyed till his death, and always considered it as inferring a new obligation to persevere steadily in the prosecution of his work. From the earl of Mansfield he received many other testimonies of esteem both as a man and as an author, which he was often heard to mention with the most affectionate gratitude. The octavo edition of his history, published in 1788, was inscribed to his lordship. The quarto edition had been dedicated to the king.

The property of the work had hitherto remained with himself; but in April 1786, when an octavo edition

edition was intended, he conveyed the property to Messrs. Cadell and Strahan for the Sum of 1000 l.; reserving to himself what still remained unsold of the quarto edition. Dr. Henry had kept very accurate accounts of the sales from the time of the original publication; and after his last transaction he found that his real profits had amounted in the whole to about 3300 l.; a striking proof of the intrinsic merit of a work which had forced its way to the public esteem, in spite of the malignant opposition with which the first volumes had to struggle.

The prosecution of his history had been Dr. Henry's favourite object for almost thirty years of his life. He had naturally a sound constitution, and a more equal and larger portion of animal spirits than is commonly possessed by literary men: but from the year 1785 his bodily strength was sensibly impaired: notwithstanding this he persisted steadily in preparing his sixth volume, which brings down the history to the accession of Edward VI. and it is now published by his executors; they flatter themselves that it will be found entitled to the same favourable reception from the public which has been given to the former volumes. It was written under the disadvantages of bad health and great weakness of body. The tremulous motion of his hand had increased so as to render writing much more difficult to him than it had ever been: but the vigour of his mind and his ardour were unimpaired; and, independent of the general character of his works, the posthumous volume will be a lasting monument

of the strength of his faculties, and of the literary industry and perseverance which ended only with his life.

Dr. Henry's original plan extended from the invasion of Britain by the Romans to the present times : and men of literary curiosity must regret that he has not lived to complete his design ; but he has certainly finished the most difficult parts of his subject. The periods after the accession of Edward VI. afford materials more ample, better digested, and much more within the reach of common readers.

The works of an author make so considerable a part of his personal history, that the account of them is in danger of encroaching on the place which ought to be reserved for his private life. But though Dr. Henry's character as a man was sufficiently interesting, his death is too recent to permit the minuteness of a biographer. An account of his habits, his friendships, his amusements, his convivial intercourse, such as a reader of narratives of this sort expects, cannot be given to those who shared in his society, without mixing the history of the living with the character of the dead. Nothing but what is general can be said ; and much must therefore be withheld which a friend might wish to read, and which might gratify the curiosity of a stranger.

Though his literary engagements might have been supposed to have given him sufficient employment, he always found time for what he believed to be objects of public utility, as well as for the
offices

offices of private friendship. In public life no man was more steady or active in pursuing his purpose, or sought the means of attaining it with more integrity. As an ecclesiastical man, he followed the unbiassed dictates of his own mind, uniformly promoting the measures which he thought most for the interest of religion and of his country, and persevering in the principles he avowed, though in the general assembly they most frequently led him to be included in the votes of the minority. Of the public societies of Edinburgh he was always one of the most useful and indefatigable members; regular in his attendance as long as his health permitted him, and always pure in his intentions. But in serving and assisting his private friends, he discovered an ardour and activity through his whole life more interesting than the most distinguished literary fame; even the sons of those who had once been his companions, were certain of every assistance in his power, if he thought they deserved it; and no consideration could persuade him to desert a man whom he esteemed, or whom he believed to have a claim on his friendship. He was particularly attentive to young men who were prosecuting a literary education. He had himself experienced difficulties in his youth, and mentioned them often as motives which he could not resist, to assist the industry and merit of other men. His activity to serve his friends was always accompanied with an earnestness and good will, which added greatly to the obligations he conferred. Besides his friends, he was particularly attentive to his relations; of

whom he had a number, whose circumstances were not opulent; with them he shared his good fortune, as soon as the profits of his book enabled him to be useful to them; and, with the exception of an annuity to Mrs. Henry, and a few small legacies, left them by his will all the property he had acquired. His pension and the profits of his book had placed him at last in easy circumstances, and enabled him to do for his relations what gave great satisfaction to his worthy and benevolent mind.

Dr. Henry was naturally fond of society; and few men ever enjoyed society more perfectly, or were capable of contributing so much to the pleasures of conversation. Notwithstanding his literary pursuits, he was always ready to make one in a party of his friends; and attached himself to pleasant and respectable companions wherever he found them, without any regard to the competitions or contrary opinions which unhappily so often prevent worthy men from associating. His extensive knowledge, his cheerfulness and pleasantry, his inexhaustible fund of humour and anecdote, would have made him a distinguished character among any description of men, although he had had no pretensions as an author. His great extent of solid information gave a variety to his conversation, to which much was added by his talents for convivial pleasantry. He had a story or anecdote ready for every occasion, and adapted to every subject; and was peculiarly happy in selecting the circumstances which could render it interesting and pointed. If the same narratives were sometimes repeated, a circumstance which

which was unavoidable, they were always seasoned with a new relish; and even those who lived most with him, have seldom been in his company without hearing from him something which was as new to them as to strangers. His character was uniform to the end. He conversed with the ardour and even with the gaiety of youth long after his bodily strength had yielded to the infirmities of age; and even within a few days of his death, which he was every day expecting, he could mix anecdotes and pleasantry with the most serious discourse.

For several years he had spent a part of every season at Milnfield, a country-house with a few acres surrounding it, about twenty miles from Edinburgh, of which he had a lease for his own life and Mrs. Henry's. He had been attracted to this situation by its vicinity to his friend Mr. Laurie's estate, to whose family he had always an affectionate attachment. Here he prosecuted his studies without interruption; and amused himself with such improvements and alterations on his small farm as his convenience or his fancy suggested to him. He built a small room for a library, which he had surrounded with trees, and inscribed "*Otio et Musis*;" and, the situation admitting of it, he fitted up on the ground floor a place for a cold bath, which his physicians had directed him to use; on the door of which he had written, "Be easily pleased;" a circumstance highly characteristic of his own temper in the common affairs of life.

His health had been gradually declining since the year 1785. He had been unable to preach for

several years, and an assistant had supplied his place. On this account he spent more of his time than usual at Milnfield. Till the summer of 1790 he was able to pursue his studies, though not without some interruptions: but at that time, though he had no particular disease, a universal relaxation and debility assured him that his constitution was exhausted. What rendered his situation more depressing still, Mrs. Henry had for some time discovered symptoms of a cataract on her eyes, which in 1790 reduced her to a state of almost total blindness. In the month of August he accompanied her to Edinburgh, where she submitted to an operation, which was so far unsuccessful that she did not recover her sight during his life. From the time of his return to Milnfield in September, his strength was sensibly diminished; and he was soon convinced that he had but a few weeks to live. No man could meet death with more equanimity or fortitude, or with a fortitude derived from better sources. He mentioned his death easily, and often as an event which in his situation was desirable, sensible that from the exhausted state of his body he could no longer enjoy this world, or be useful in it; and expressing in the most explicit terms his firm persuasion of the great doctrines of Christianity, and the full expectation he derived from them of "life and immortality through Jesus Christ our Lord." His faculties were perfectly entire; nor could any change be observed in his manner or conversation with his friends. He was never confined to bed, and conversed easily till within a few hours of his death,

death. He had a strength of mind which falls to the lot of few; and Providence permitted him to preserve the full possession of it.

A few days before his death he executed a deed, which he dictated himself, by which he disposed his collection of books to the magistrates, town-council, and presbytery of Linlithgow, as the foundation of a public library; under certain regulations and conditions which he expressed very distinctly, and by means of which he flattered himself that a library might at last be created, which might contribute to diffuse knowledge and literature in the country. This idea had been suggested to him by his experience in the public utility of libraries of this sort, which had been established at Berwick and at Kelso. By such institutions the means of knowledge may be obtained in remote situations at a small expence, and are easily circulated among the different orders of men: and though his collection of books was not a large one, he believed that the institution required only to be begun under proper regulations, and might soon become considerable if proper attention should be given to it. His intentions were certainly pure; and the rules he suggested well suited to the design. The magistrates of Linlithgow have prepared a room, and curators for the management of the library have been chosen in terms of the deed. The public have reason to expect from them every thing by which they can promote the benevolent and respectable intentions of the founder. He gave very minute directions with regard to his affairs, and

even dictated a list of his friends whom he wished to be present at his funeral ; and with a constitution quite worn out, died on the 24th of November 1790, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was buried in the church-yard of Polmont, where a monument is erected to his memory.

Dr. Henry's personal virtues will not be soon forgotten. Among his friends he will always be remembered with tenderness : and his character as an author will be respected by posterity, long after the events of his private life shall become too distant to be interesting.

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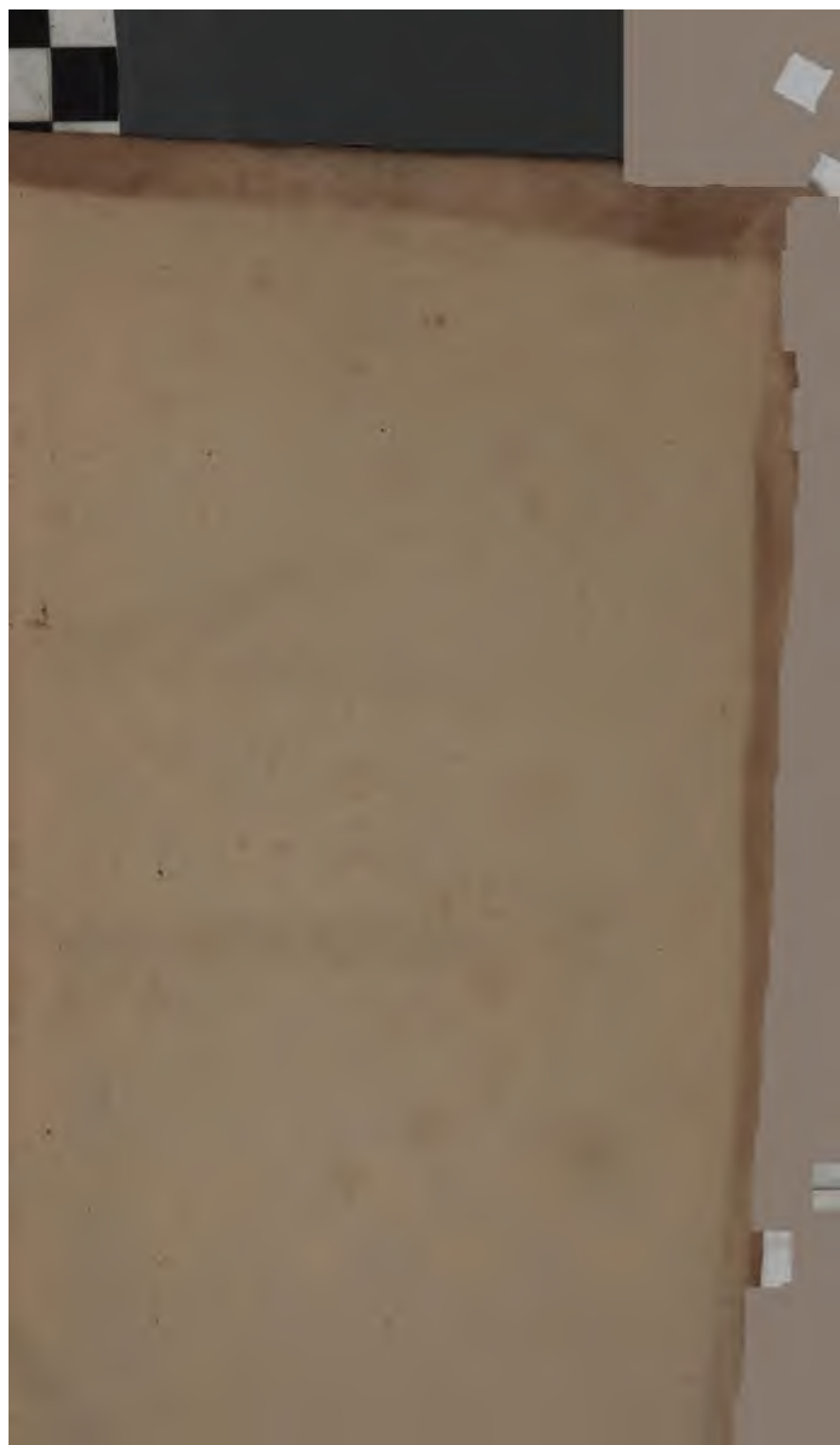
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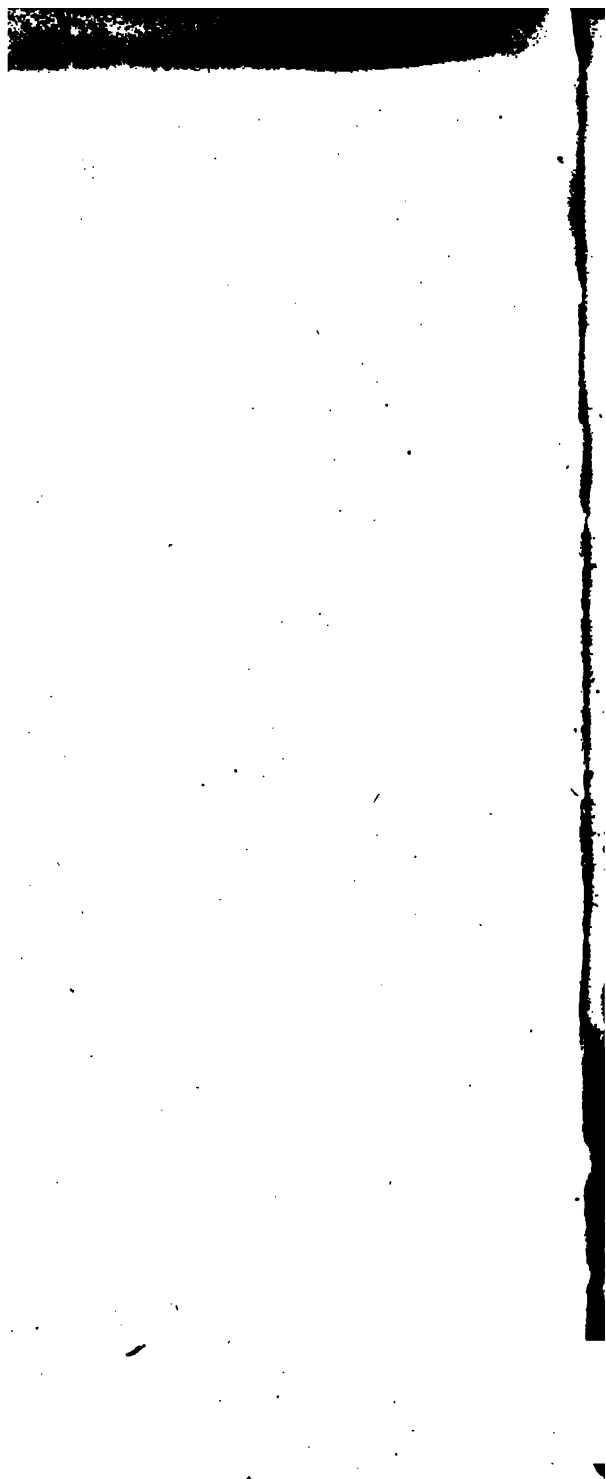
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